

Experiencing Landscape While Walking

On the Interplay between Garden Design,
Sensory Experience and Medical Spa Philosophy
at Ronneby Spa

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Cover: The image, two pictures weaved together (collage by author), shows parts of the *imaginary weave* of Ronneby Spa, described and discussed in this thesis. The different parts of the weave in the image are:

1) Spa visitors walking in the designed spa avenue at Ronneby Spa in the end of the 19th century; experiencing the landscape with their senses whilst taking part in the water drinking ritual. (Engraving by C. S. Hallbeck 1877 in: Trolle, 1877)

2) The spa avenue today; unpeopled but witnessing of a use, a design and a medical spa philosophy of the past. (Photograph by Åsa Setterby, 1999)

Experiencing Landscape While Walking. On the Interplay between Garden Design, Sensory Experience and Medical Spa Philosophy at Ronneby Spa

Abstract

The main objective of this thesis is to contribute to a widening of knowledge on spas, on garden design in the late 19th century and on the constituents of landscape heritage. A purpose is to broaden the discussion on landscape heritage, using Ronneby Spa as an example. The main research questions are how the experience of Ronneby Spa can be studied and described and how the medical spa philosophy and ideas on garden design interplayed when it came to designing the landscape of Ronneby Spa.

The discussion focuses on different factors affecting the spa visitor's experience; sensory experience, garden design and medical spa philosophy. It also focuses on actors affecting the design of the spa landscape; the doctor, the landscape architect and the gardener. The empirical material in this case study has been reflected upon through other researcher's writings on for example garden design through history, walking, senses, heritage, and history of ideas. The multidisciplinary approach is used to construct an *imaginary weave* of experience, illustrated by an imaginary spa visitor walking around.

The case study reveals interplay between garden design ideas, sensory experience and medical spa philosophy in the design and the experience of Ronneby Spa in the late 19th century. It also reveals interplay between actors; doctor, landscape architect and gardener. The doctors' role and way of writing indicate that they had knowledge of landscape ideals. The doctors argued that the design of the landscape affected the health of the patients and that a 'moderate mental agitation', i. e. sensory aspects, and movement were crucial for the cure. Those arguments interplayed with garden design ideas at that time which endorsed sensory experience and walking as part of the design and argued the importance of a varied experience.

The case study of Ronneby Spa broadens the discussion on landscape heritage by including the role of the senses and the walking, the health perspective, several dimensions of garden design through different actors and new dimensions of landscape experience through an *imaginary weave*. It contributes to the notion of landscape as being dependant on people's experience and perception, an approach to landscape now being fostered by the European Landscape Convention.

Keywords: Garden history, Ronneby Spa, landscape experience, walking, senses, 19th century

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Att uppleva landskapet under en vandring. Om samspelet mellan trädgårdskonst, sinnesupplevelse och medicinsk filosofi i exemplet Ronneby Brunnspark

Sammandrag

Huvudmålet med avhandlingen är att bidra till en ökad kunskap om brunnsparkar, om trädgårdskonsten i slutet av 1800-talet och om landskapet som kulturarv. Ett syfte är att vidga diskussionen om landskapet som kulturarv med fallstudien Ronneby Brunnspark som exempel. Forskningsfrågorna är huvudsakligen hur upplevelsen av Ronneby Brunn under 1800-talet kan studeras och beskrivas samt hur medicinsk filosofi, sinnesupplevelse och samtida idéer om trädgårdskonst samspelar i utformningen och upplevelsen av en brunnsmiljö som den i Ronneby.

Diskussionen fokuserar på olika faktorer i brunnsgästens upplevelse och olika aktörer i utformningen av Ronneby Brunnns landskap. Faktorerna är sinnesupplevelsen, trädgårdskonsten och den medicinska filosofin. Aktörerna är läkaren, trädgårdsmästaren och landskapsarkitekten. Reflektioner av fallstudiens empiriska material görs via annan forskning inom t ex trädgårdshistoria, idéhistoria och kulturgeografi. Det multidisciplinära angreppssättet används för att presentera en *imaginär upplevelseväv*, illustrerad av en brunnsgäst som promenerar i Ronneby Brunnns landskap.

Fallstudien visar på samspel mellan medicinsk filosofi, sinnesupplevelse och idéer om trädgårdskonst i utformningen och upplevelsen av Ronneby Brunnspark i slutet av 1800-talet. Den visar också på ett samspel mellan aktörerna läkare, landskapsarkitekt och trädgårdsmästare. Läkarens roll och sätt att skriva visar att de hade kännedom om trädgårdskonst och landskapsideal. Den medicinska filosofin gick ut på att landskapet hade egenskaper som påverkade människors hälsa och kurprogrammen argumenterade för en 'lagom sinnesrörelse' och en vandring i landskapet. Detta samspelar med dåtidens teorier och idéer om trädgårdskonst. De teorierna anammade sinnesupplevelser och rörelse som delar av trädgårdars utformning och argumenterade för vikten av en varierad upplevelse.

Fallstudien om Ronneby Brunnspark breddar och fördjupar förståelsen av landskapet som kulturarv genom att inkludera sinnenas och vandringens roll i utformningen av landskap, hälsoperspektivet samt flera dimensioner av landskapsupplevelse och trädgårdskonst via olika aktörer och en *imaginär upplevelseväv*. Den bidrar till uppfattningen av begreppet landskap som beroende av människors upplevelse, en uppfattning som nu förs fram av Europeiska landskapskonventionen.

Sökord: Trädgårdshistoria, Ronneby Brunn, sinnesupplevelse, landskap, vandring, 1800-tal

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Dedication

To Siri

And now here is my secret. It is very simple. It is only with one's heart one can see clearly. What is essential is invisible to the eye.

Antoine de Saint-Exupéry in: *The Little Prince* (1995 [1943]), translated by Irene Testot-Ferry, p. 82.

My aim concerning Japanese garden art has been to understand how things can be experienced in a way that is a bit more than just aesthetic. In this respect I have something in common with many Nordic artists.

Sven-Ingvar Andersson in: Unprinted manuscript for a talk at the symposium on Japanese Garden Art in Treviso, February 2, 2007.

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List of Publications

The discussion in this thesis is based on the following articles, referred to by Roman numerals in the text:

- I Jakobsson, Anna (2003), 'Brunnsgästens resa i tid och rum – om hälso-brunnens parker och trädgårdar', *RIG* 4/2003, pp. 193–205.
- II Jakobsson, Anna (2005), 'Med Lie & Lukjärn, Spade & Sopkvast, Penna & Pensel, Dynamit & Dahlior och Frustration & Fröpåsar', in: Hogdal, Lis (Ed.), *Ronneby Brunn under trehundra år*, Stockholm: Byggförlaget, pp. 83–117, 220–228 and 231–233.★
- III Jakobsson, Anna (2004b), 'Ruled by Routine and Ritual. The Spatial Organization of the Spa Environment at Ronneby, South-East Sweden', *Garden History* 32:2 (Winter issue 2004), pp. 213–229.
- IV Jakobsson, Anna (2009), 'A Sensory Garden. On the Interplay between Medical Beliefs and Theories on Garden Design at Ronneby Spa, Sweden', [manuscript], pp. X–Y.

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★ This publication (Article II) does not include footnote references. For footnote references: see the original manuscript to Article II in the Framework appendix starting on page 151.

Abbreviations and Definitions of Concepts

ELC	European Landscape Convention
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IFLA	International Federation of Landscape Architects
KML	Kulturminneslagen, the Heritage Conservation Act of Sweden
RAÄ	Riksantikvarieämbetet, National Heritage Board of Sweden
SPA	Salus per aqua/Sana per aqua, health through/with water

Conservation; all operations designed to understand a property, know its history and meaning, ensure its material safeguard and, if required its restoration and enhancement.¹

Garden design is referred to in this thesis as organising, and the result of organising, the environment aesthetically in both small and large scale. Using the term garden design I discuss the act of designing, the advice on designing and the design itself.

Heritage is difficult to define since heritage in many ways is our own creation, as David Lowenthal expresses it; “Far from being fatally predetermined or God given, [heritage] is in large measure our own marvelously malleable creation.”² The term is present-centred in this thesis and defined as the future of the past, with the present and my own reflections as starting point. Retrospective memories of the spa are used as resources to convey a sense of destiny for the present which is ‘the future of the past spa’. Under review are

¹ The definition is made in the Nara Document on Authenticity, by the World Heritage Committee in 1994, online, <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/nara94.htm>, accessed 2009-04-30.

² Lowenthal (1998), p. 226.

the cultural heritage of spas, the garden and landscape heritage of the late 19th century and the specific heritage of Ronneby Spa.

The human senses are counted as five in this thesis; auditory sense, visual sense, tactile sense, sense of taste and olfaction. The notion of muscular movement (kinaesthesia), temperature change and wind is included in the tactile sense, the sense of touch.

Landscape has been defined throughout history mainly with the two meanings 1) scenic view and 2) area regulated by laws and legislations. Landscape, in Sweden, was a term meaning province, region or territorial unit in its earliest meanings in the 16th century according to *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*.³ In the late 17th century the term had a meaning of an area with the same character. It could also mean a scenic view and a territorial unit. In the 1890s it seems landscape in Sweden more and more meant an area of land which was overviewed and had a similar character even though the meaning of the territorial land (the province) still existed.

Today the meaning of landscape has broadened to be more defined as 'place' or areas as perceived by people. In this thesis, where it does not say otherwise, landscape is referring to the definition of landscapes in the European Landscape Convention (2000): "areas, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors".⁴ Landscape is sometimes referred to in this thesis as an area whose character is the result of garden design (see garden design above).

'Landskabsgartner' (**Landscape gardener**) was the title of a Danish graduate in garden art from 1851 and forward.⁵ The title before 1851 (1833–1851) was 'Kunstgartner' (Garden artist or Art gardener). In the 1930s the title was more often 'havearkitekt'⁶ (Garden architect) and the title 'landskabsarkitekt' (**Landscape architect**) was not used at the time of Ronneby Spa's heydays, by those practising garden art in Denmark and Sweden. However John Claudius Loudon (1783–1843) mentioned and defined the practice of land-

³ *Svenska Akademiens Ordbok* online, <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/>, entry: landskap, 2009-07-06.

⁴ *European Landscape Convention*, online at the homepage of the Council of Europe, available from: <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/176.htm>, 2009-01-04. Definition of landscape in Article 1.

⁵ *Nordisk Illustreret Havebrugsleksikon* (1945–1948), 5th edition, entries: kunstgartner and landskabsgartner.

⁶ *Nordisk Illustreret Havebrugsleksikon* (1934–36), 4th edition, entries: landskabsgartner and havearkitekt.

scape architecture in 1840 when he described Humphry Repton's (1752–1818) entire works.⁷ The title we would use today about a person designing gardens in Sweden would be either garden designer or landscape architect. Persons designing landscape today are called landscape architects throughout this thesis. As the term 'kunstgartner' or 'landskabsgartner' (as Flindt described himself) does not exist today Flindt is also called landscape architect in this thesis.

Medical spa philosophy refers to the medical beliefs, taught and practiced at spas in the late 19th century which is explained in Article IV and below. The concept as it is used in this thesis consists of two parts; the general medical philosophy/beliefs at that time and the medical particularities of the spa. Weaved in the medical beliefs is also a certain 'spirit of the time'.

Perception is the process in which the sensuous experience (hearing, seeing, touching, tasting, and smelling) is interpreted in our mind and imagination; "The function through which we interpret the world and relate to it".⁸

Quotationmarks are used throughout the thesis to mark expressions (single quotation marks) and quotes (double quotation marks). Certain expressions are written in italics to draw the reader's attention.

Sensory experience in this thesis refers to both a mere sensuous experience (hearing, seeing, touching, tasting, smelling) and an interpretation, a perception, of the sensuous experience at the same time. The sensory experience can be defined as the effect of sensory stimulus from the outside world because of the process of perception. **Sensation** is another common word for this, used by for example R. G. Collingwood and Maurice Merleau-Ponty. Something experienced through both body (the 'real' senses) and mind (the imagination) together makes the sensation.⁹ To have a sensation, according to Merleau-Ponty, is to experience qualities such as hot, cold or redness, for example. To sense is to have qualities of the sensed and the quality is as rich and mysterious as the object.¹⁰ The expression sensory experience is used to signify sensation throughout the text.

⁷ Loudon, J. C. (1840), *The landscape gardening and Landscape architecture of the late Humphry Repton*, London: Printed for the Editor and sold by Longman & Co.

⁸ *Nationalencyklopedin* [online], available from: <http://www.ne.se>, accessed [2009-09-02]

⁹ Collingwood (1958 [1938]), p. 173.

¹⁰ Merleau-Ponty (2002 [1958]), p. 5.

Walk, promenade and saunter are all different ways of moving in the 19th century spa landscape. The walk refers mostly to the rhythmic tempo in which the spa visitors walked when taking the waters and when the brass band was playing. The promenade is the more moderate walking action and the term used for parks in general in the end of the 19th century. At Ronneby Spa it was possible to arrange promenades by horse or carriage, not having to walk by yourself. This was a way of exercising for the weak and fragile women, according to the doctors. To saunter is to walk at slow pace, while talking or looking at flowers and different views.

Watering-place is a common word in English for places where people went to take the waters, such as a spa.

Introduction

Background

Brief history of Ronneby Spa

Ronneby Spa, on the edge of the town of Ronneby in the south-east of Sweden (see Figure 1), was not a Spa in continental terms when it was founded in 1705.¹¹ It was merely a well with water containing high levels of iron, used and temporarily fenced in by the local pharmacist. After a while, in the 1720s, that well went dry. Quite soon a new well was found about hundred metres from the old one. From that spot the spa developed. At first the well was used only for medical purposes but the facility developed into one of Sweden's largest, most fashionable spas by the end of the 19th century, with a focus on both medical health and social events. The change did not take place very quickly, at first. In the 1730s Ronneby Spa was a facility visited only by few people, mainly sailors, and so it remained for a long period. In the early 1800s the number of visitors started to increase, first amongst the nobility and later, in the middle of the 19th century, amongst the growing members of the bourgeoisie.

It was during the 17th century the discussion on establishing watering places as medical facilities began in Sweden. One of the reasons for establishing new medical facilities was that after the reformation the church no longer had the responsibility for such establishments and the care of the sick and the medical service in general had a downward trend. There was a need for both new medical facilities and modern training of doctors. The spas of Europe, such as Bath in England and Bad Pyrmont in Germany, were very

¹¹ All facts presented in the "Brief History" are withdrawn from Articles I, II, III and IV and Jakobsson (2000).

popular and had modern treatments. Therefore the physician Urban Hiärne was sent out by the Swedish medical board to research the spas and the effect of water treatment in Europe. The first spa to be established in Sweden was Medevi in 1678, situated outside Motala in Östergötland, with Urban Hiärne as head physician. Establishments of other spas followed, such as Sättra in 1700, Ronneby in 1705 and Ramlösa in 1707. The physician in charge at Ronneby Spa was the local pharmacist. Later on, during the 19th century, the spa contracted physicians from all over Sweden to be in charge over the facility during the summer.

There were no lodging possibilities at Ronneby spa during the first 150 years. The spa visitors stayed in the town hotel or were lodged in private houses. When the number of visitors started to increase a lot during the 1850s, some local businessmen joined in the effort of developing and extending the spa area. Their ambitions were to build a hotel, villas, better medical facilities, new bath houses and a nice park. In 1873 the ideas were put into plan and action. The Danish landscape architect Henry August Flindt and the architect Christian Ferdinand Rasmussen were hired to draw the master plan for the area. A gardener, at first V. Rygaard¹² and later Henrik Madelung, were recruited, by Flindt, to supervise the layout of the park. In five years most of the spa park, enlarged to 40 times its original size, was finished and put into use. Twenty years after the enlargement of the park, a new fashionable hotel was built in 1898 and the transformation was complete. (see Figure 2)



Figure 1. A map showing the location of “Ronneby Brunn” in south-east Sweden. (from: Tourist brochure 1896, in Ronneby Spa’s archives, Ö:6 Övriga handlingar)

¹² His first name is unknown to me.

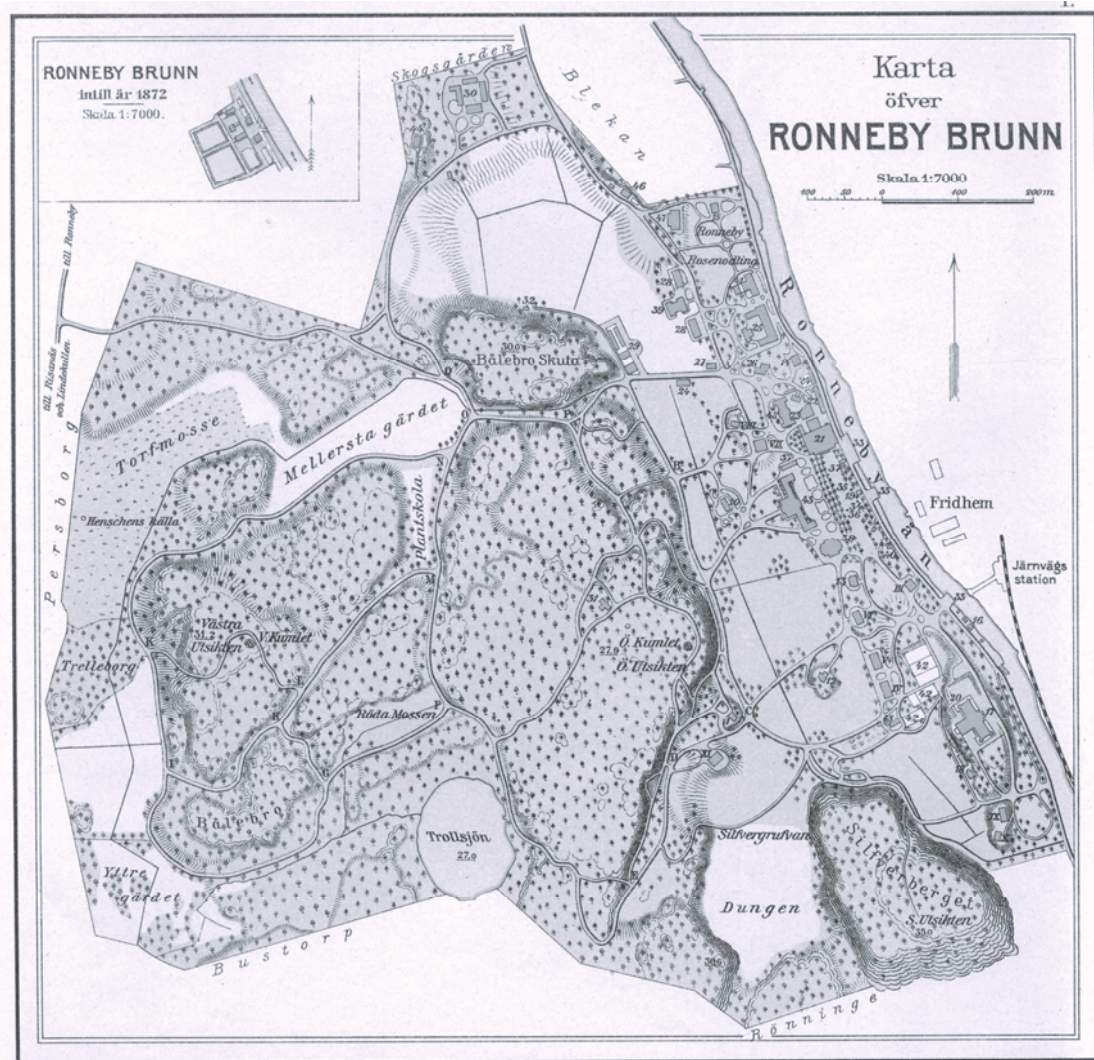


Figure 2. A map showing the layout of the Spa in 1905, when the development of Ronneby Spa had been realised in full. Up in the left corner a comparison with the former spa is presented to show the proportions of the spa before and after the works of Rasmussen and Flindt. The map is presented in colour in Article II, p. 110. (From: Ingstad, 1905)

Included in the spa park were a former farm field area to the west of the old well and a grazing area on top of a hill. Dividing the field and the grazing area was a prominent hillside, facing to the east. The new park areas below the hillside at Ronneby Spa were planted with shrubs and trees with variegated leaf shape and leaf colour, which was typical for late 19th century gar-

den art. Apart from the new park areas close to the well, an extensive walking area was laid out in the sparsely tree-grown former grazing area on top of the hill. A main walk was laid out, taking the visitor's past a small lake and the gardener's nursery. The grazing area and the lake received appropriately romantic new names 'Brunnsskogen' (The Spa Forest) and 'Trollsjön' (The Troll's lake).

The Spa was very popular by 1900 and a comment in the minutes of the spa board meetings was that the number of visitors was over 2000, exceeding the number of visitors of Medevi Spa, which was one of the most popular spas in Sweden until then. A probable reason for Ronneby Spa's popularity was, among others, its position close to the sea, which offered a varied stay at the spa. The spa in Ronneby was famous for the large number of different treatments apart from the main activity in taking the waters, such as hot baths, cold baths, scrubs, massages, mud baths and ocean baths. The fashionable hotel, offering many rooms to stay in and a social arena for the growing number of visitors also contributed to the popularity.

At the point when the First World War began, the number of visitors started to decrease, as was the case for many spas in Sweden. In 1929 Ronneby Spa was declared bankrupt. The local authorities took over the responsibility for the organisation so that the cure programmes could continue for 10 more years, but those also ceased in 1939. During the Second World War, the spa grounds were used for lodging refugees and for training of Danish soldiers. Since the War, the old spa grounds have been used as a place for recreation and sports for nearby schools and for the general public.

During the 1960s, after a fire that destroyed the hotel, some changes were made in the park. A new hotel was built and apartment buildings were founded in the north grounds where the gardener's house used to be. Also a new road was built across the eastern part of the grounds in order to facilitate the growing traffic towards the sea.

In connection to the town's 600 year anniversary in 1987, a renewal of the old spa grounds was undertaken based on a proposal from Professor and landscape architect Sven-Ingvar Andersson (see Figure 3). At the same location as Madelung's old nursery 'Dofträdgården' (the Garden of Scent) was laid out and a former bog was transformed into a 'Japansk trädgård' (Japanese Garden). In the wet areas in the east part of the park beneath the hillside, new ponds were constructed including a dramatic waterfall. A part of the spa area was designated a cultural heritage site/building (byggnadsminnesförk-

larad)¹³ in 1996. (see Figure 4) The whole area of the Spa has been protected as a Culture reserve¹⁴ since 2003 (see Figure 5).

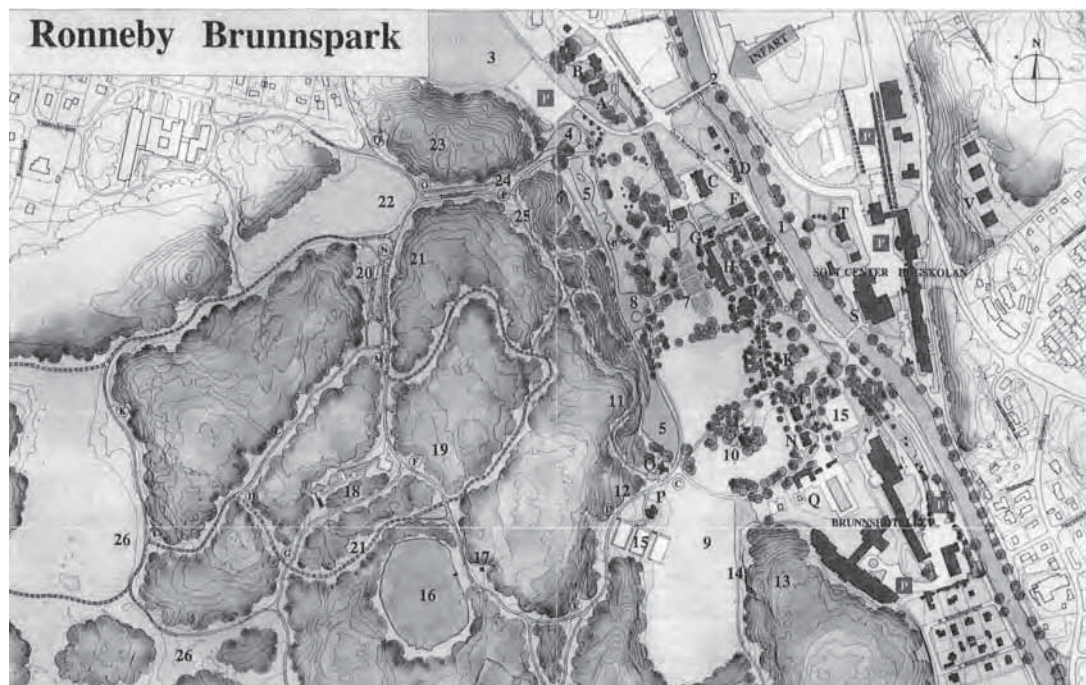


Figure 3. A map showing the Spa in 1993. The lake is at 16, The Japanese Garden is at 18 and the Garden of Scent is situated at 20 (Brochure at Ronneby Tourist Office, 1993)

¹³ Only the park area which contained buildings in the spa's eastern areas were designated a cultural heritage site/building. However it has been possible to declare a park or a garden in itself as cultural heritage building in Sweden since 1989, according to the Heritage Conservation Act of Sweden (Kulturminneslagen).

¹⁴ Ronneby Spa is a culture reserve according to Sweden's Environmental Code 1999 (Miljöbalken). The arguments for a culture reserve were many. One of the arguments was that the spa area needed a protection that stretched further, geographically, than the park with the old spa villas. The Spa forest ('Brunnsskogen') was not included in the former designated cultural heritage building ('byggnadsminnet') and there was a need for a protection that took whole of the former area of the spa into consideration. Another argument for declaring the area of the former spa a culture reserve was that the inventories made in 2000 showed a high value in red listed species that were dependant on a certain level of maintenance. The park ideals in the late 19th century and the management since then had been beneficial for those species. The historic traces and remains of the spa culture were also many and the area was still used for recreational purposes displaying a continuity of cultural activities. Those were the main arguments for declaring the area a culture reserve.



Figure 4. A map showing the borders (thick black) of the cultural heritage site, designated in 1996. (The illustration is from the resolution document on the designated heritage site, made by the County Administrative Board in Blekinge, 1996-10-21)



Figure 5. A map showing the outlines of the Culture Reserve (From: Attachment to the resolution document on the Culture Reserve, County Administrative Board in Blekinge, 2003-04-04)

On Society

The period focused on in this thesis, the late 19th century, was a time of dramatic change within many areas in Swedish society. Cities developed rapidly, the industry and new technology progressed as did the economy and the growing number of the bourgeoisie¹⁵. The political revolutions of the bourgeoisie in 1830 and 1848 in France contributed to a discussion on women's position in society and the idea of equality and fraternity. In Sweden, the working-class movement of the late 19th century put these questions on the agenda in the political debate. Because of these debates and of the changing social status of the bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie dominated the spa arena in general and women were given a special social status at the spa. The Swedish Spa did not differ from other spas in Europe in these aspects.¹⁶

During the 19th century the spa in Sweden had a time of prosperity and expansion up until the middle of the century. After that, a stay at the spa in Sweden seemed to change from a regulated cure, following a certain schedule, towards a more vacation-like residence. The proportions between taking the waters and taking baths also changed during the 19th century to the benefit of the bathing.¹⁷ There also seems to be a change in medical beliefs at that time, from the beliefs in the curative properties of water, to combining it with beliefs in new knowledge on anaesthesia and surgery, for example. The ceased expansion of the spas, the change in proportion of taking the waters, the change in regulations and the change in medical philosophy in the 1880s lead Elisabeth Mansén frame her 2001 study of the Swedish Spa culture within the period 1680-1880.¹⁸

One of the interesting things about Ronneby Spa is that the time of prosperity seemed to continue up until the 1910s and the First World War. The expansion of Ronneby Spa took place in the 1870s and 1880s and the rules and rituals very much regulated the stay at the spa up until its bankruptcy in 1929. The visits to Ronneby Spa were not 'vacation-like' until after the Second World War when the town of Ronneby offered house wives

¹⁵ The bourgeoisie can be defined as the "middle-class" of the 19th century, mainly being merchants and persons with their own estate, living in the cities.

¹⁶ Elisabeth Mansén, Professor in the History of Ideas at Stockholm University, writes about the consequences of the political bourgeoisie revolutions at Swedish spas, and in particular about the role women came to play at spas. Women's social statuses were higher at spas in general. Mansén (1998) and Mansén (2001), p. 48 and p. 501.

¹⁷ Mansén (2001), p. 48f.

¹⁸ the whole title is: *Ett paradis på jorden. Om den svenska kurortskulturen 1680-1880* (A Paradise on Earth. On Swedish Spas and Watering-places 1680 - 1880).

a 'house wife's vacation' at the old spa grounds. In these aspects Ronneby Spa does not entirely follow the general Swedish spa culture's development. But concerning the matter of how the popularity of the spa movement decreased in Sweden, it can be said that Ronneby Spa was similar to many other spas in Sweden, as the activities were phased out after the Second World War.

The fact that Ronneby Spa continued to develop after the 1880s, after the change of the Swedish Spa culture in general, is one of the reasons why Ronneby Spa is interesting to study. Also the change in Swedish society in the 1890s; in politics, art, literature, economics and the changed position of women, makes spa culture in general interesting to study beyond the 1880s.

The changes and the history of the spa, in the late(r) 19th century, are also relevant for the experience of Ronneby Spa today, as cultural heritage. Ronneby Spa in the late 19th century was both modern and new in the way that it was newly built, displaying the latest fashions within architecture and garden art. It was also modern with regard to the doctors' education, where new scientific findings were taught in practice. However, the tradition of going to the spa every year and the daily routine and ritual of taking the waters were well recognised by the spa visitors, probably generating a feeling of assurance. Even though there was a rapid change in society during the late 19th century the spa must have been a place which visitors experienced as assuring and 'safe', knowing what to expect.

On Art and Nature

The 1880s represents a change not only for the spa movement as described by Elisabeth Mansén, but also within the art world in Sweden. The Swedish debate concerning the arts in the 1880s and 1890s in Sweden concerned the will to seek common denominators internationally, for example the impressionists and their relationship towards the national romantics. There was also a change in the landscape painting tradition from being carried out indoors towards becoming an outdoor practice.¹⁹

The relationship between the art of painting and the art of landscape architecture and garden art is too complicated to describe in just a few lines, but something must nevertheless be said about the development of landscape painting in Sweden during the late 1800s and the impact this must have had on people's view on nature and landscape. Swedish art in the end of the 19th century has been described as realistic and national romantic, not necessarily at the same time though. 'Realism' and 'sensualism' became common de-

¹⁹ *Konsten i Sverige* (1994), Part 2, p. 207f.

nominators for artists in Sweden such as Anders Zorn²⁰ and Carl Larsson²¹. The impressionists in France were great sources of inspiration for them, in the way they were painting everyday life and French landscapes.

When back in Sweden the artists developed an art that was more and more inspired by the inland, Swedish landscape and their motifs often showed daily life and people either in out in the landscape or at home.²²

The paintings by Zorn and Larsson show people and 'nature' in interplay. Other artists during the same period, such as Prince Eugen²³, often chose to paint 'nature' without people, where the landscape in itself represented a feeling or a sentiment.

'Nature' in paintings in the end of the 19th century Sweden could be either fierce or peaceful, depending on which artist described it, but as stated above, art in general could be described as realistic and sensual and inspired by the Swedish landscape.

From the 1860s and onward in Sweden, art was widely spread in magazines²⁴. Considering that the artists mentioned above also in that way were well known to the public, their art had an impact on how people in general experienced the world, art, people, nature and the landscape, around them. Carl Larsson was for example writer and illustrator in annual calendars such as *Svea Folkkalender* and *Norman* as was the internationally known Swedish writer August Strindberg in the 1880s and 1890s.²⁵

Swedish people in general have always had a strong love of nature, according to authors of the early 20th century, but this is questioned by the ethnologists Jonas Frykman and Orvar Löfgren (1979). The farmers in Swe-

²⁰ Some of Anders Zorn's (1860-1920) famous motives were of women bathing in the nude in for example 'Ute' (Out) in 1888 and of the life in Dalarna in for example 'Midsommar-dans i Mora' (Midsummer dance in Mora) in 1897. Information retrieved from: *Konsten i Sverige* (1994).

²¹ Carl Larsson (1853-1919) was inspired by his family and his own house in Sundborn, Dalarna, in his work. Common motives were his wife and children in the garden or inside the house. He has been called one of Sweden's most loved artists of all time. Famous paintings are, among others, the water colour paintings 1894-1899 in the book 'Ett hem' (A Home), 1899. Information retrieved from *Konsten i Sverige* (1994).

²² *Konsten i Sverige*, (1994), Part 2, p. 217-226.

²³ Prins Eugen (1865-1947) was the younger brother of King Gustav V. He lived and worked at 'Valdemars Udde' in Stockholm, where art from that time, including his own work, are on display today. Famous works of him are 'Skogen' (the Forest) in 1892 and 'Molnet' (The Cloud) in different versions 1895 and 1896.

²⁴ *Konsten i Sverige*, (1994), Part 2, p. 153.

²⁵ Search on Project Runeberg *Svenska Familj-Journalen*, *Norman* and *Svea Folkkalender* in the 1880s [online], available from: <http://runeberg.org/>, accessed in February and March 2009. The extent of the influence these writings had on people's perception of landscape would be interesting to study further.

den had to struggle against nature to survive. They also believed in supernatural creatures, such as hobgoblins and ghost orchids of the forest (in Swedish: skogsfruar). Those creatures were fascinating but not always pleasant to be proximate to.²⁶ Nature was a frightening, though magical, place for people in general and the landscape was a landscape of production, as in farming and forestry.

After the industrialisation the magic properties of nature changed to become properties of value and economy, since money could be made from the natural assets and from new infrastructure through nature. The landscape changed gradually from being a landscape for agricultural production towards a landscape for transport and industry.²⁷

As for the bourgeoisie, nature was defined as the ‘non-productive’ nature, something exotic. The dominating tourist attractions for the bourgeoisie were the Alps and the mountains in general. These kinds of landscapes symbolised in many ways the wild and exotic, but also the healthy, clean and morally ascetic in the achievement of walking upward. That in turn symbolised the bourgeoisie’s rise in society. The exotic was also sought for by the rough cliffs at the sea, viewed by the former upper class as ugly and too simple. The rough, the simple, the untamed and the solitude were the guiding lights for the bourgeoisie. Nature became exotic and the exotic became domesticated.²⁸

During the 1890s the polarisation between nature and “nonnature” (quoting Frykman and Löfgren, 1979) became sharper. The domesticated nature, the recreational landscape outside the cities, became “natural”. Nature, as in the ‘authentic and unaffected’, became the opposite of the ‘non-nature’, which were the commercial environments clearly created by humans, such as the cities. In art and literature the typically Swedish was analysed and Swedish nature, as in the domesticated nature, was a common motif. Nature was animated into a symbol of ‘Swedishness’ and especially the nature in Dalarna, as painted by Carl Larsson, was considered typically Swedish.²⁹

The establishment of the public park in Sweden during the late 19th century paralleled with the characteristically Swedish and Nordic expression in art described above. “The objective was usually to create parks that mim-

²⁶ Frykman and Löfgren (1979), p. 46–51.

²⁷ Frykman and Löfgren (1979), p. 52.

²⁸ Frykman and Löfgren (1979), p. 54–56.

²⁹ Frykman and Löfgren (1979), p. 46–56f. The word “nonnature” is taken from the English translation of Frykman and Löfgren by Alan Crozier in 1987.

icked nature as much as possible.”³⁰ However, the public park was also an arena for social life, a place for education and cultivation as well as amusement and entertainment. The bandstand, the restaurant, the water seller’s stalls and playgrounds were common elements of the public park, which shows similarities with the spa park. At Ronneby Spa, parts of the park were designed to resemble nature and the settings were an arena for social life as well as entertainment. New trends, such as flower borders were displayed in both the public parks and in Ronneby Spa park. The contracting of established landscape architects for the design of the park is another thing Ronneby Spa has in common with public parks in south Sweden. All this makes Ronneby Spa a typical ‘good’ example of late 19th century garden design. The main reason why the spa park in Ronneby cannot be called a public park, though open for charity in some cases, is that most visitors had to pay entrance fee and the spa park was only open during summer.

On the body

Sensuality was a part of the artistic expression in the 1880s, as stated above, but the sensuality of the body in general diminished and the body’s shape, smell, associations and urges were debated and often denied.³¹ At the same time, science seemed to be fixated on describing the body. Darwinism during the late 19th century questioned the origins of species and the human body was looked at from an evolutionary point of view. This new science stated that species were not fixed and ready from the beginning but had developed over time which opened up for new questions and new research within a number of new sciences involving the human body such as anatomy, morphology, physiology and psychology.³²

According to the French scientist Descartes, the human body was a machine set in motion by the almighty creator.³³ The human body could be explained through science but it was controlled by divine forces. One branch of biology was the ‘romantic biology’ putting the forces of creation in nature itself, claiming that nature had a mind of its own implied not the least by Darwin and the theories of evolution. These nature-centred beliefs lead to a more and more consequent scientific view upon organisms and bodies in general.³⁴ As Roy Porter put it; the body became a *machina carnis*, a machine of the flesh. What made the *machina carnis* tick was the primary is-

³⁰ Nolin (1999), p. 325.

³¹ Johannisson (2005 [1994]), p. 41.

³² Johannisson (2005 [1994]), p. 25.

³³ Uddenberg (2003), p. 76.

³⁴ Uddenberg (2003), p. 76.

sue of investigation within biology, chemistry and medicine.³⁵ The machine is more or less the symbol of the body within medical science. The relationship between body and soul or the body and the world is the symbolic language of the alternative medicine today.³⁶

As a paradox to the rise in anatomical science, nudity was taboo in the late 19th century. The beautiful woman was disciplined and dressed to the teeth with no sign of having worked in the fields (i.e. no sun tan). It was considered a virtue to move around with harmony and grace and avoid sensuality.³⁷ Certain body types were defined as healthier and more beautiful. The female ideal in the end of the 19th century was the pale, the fragile and the short, displaying a life indoors, in contrast to the sun tanned, strong and tall.³⁸ There is a paradox even here, since the ideal female body created by not being outside enough, was provoking ill health. This explains why the number of women was great at Spas at that time.

Karin Johannisson (2005 [1994]) argues that being a woman in the end of the 19th century was indeed a paradox. The message to women was: be still but exercise, sleep but do not dream, be healthy but do not eat, or exercise, too much. The most important virtue was health. Johannisson's conclusion is that the failing of health was more important to deal with than the failing of other virtues.³⁹ That explains why it was accepted to exercise, enjoy sensuality and beauty and be outdoors at spas, because it was for the sake of health.

In the early 20th century, the ideal of the female body changed slightly from being thin to being voluptuous. At that time, the birth rate was decreasing all over Europe and these new bodily ideals were presented as more desirable since ample curves created better conditions for giving birth to more babies.⁴⁰ The voluptuous ideal is visible in Zorn's art for example. The 'new' sensuality is also reflected in the tourist brochures of spas and the doctor's recommendations during the cure. The use of the words senses and sensorial (in Swedish: sinnen, sinnlig) increased at the turn of the century in the tourist brochures of Ronneby Spa.

³⁵ Porter (2003), p. 51f.

³⁶ Johannisson (1997), p. 212-215.

³⁷ Johannisson (2005 [1994]), p. 46.

³⁸ Johannisson (2005 [1994]), p. 52ff.

³⁹ Johannisson (2005 [1994]), p. 50-56.

⁴⁰ Johannisson (2005 [1994]), p. 90f.

On landscape experience

Different myths of landscape have followed humanity for a long time, all over the world, through different stories and memories depending on religion, culture and landscape in question: “inherited landscape myths and memories share two common characteristics: their surprising endurance through the centuries and their power to shape the institutions that we still live with”.⁴¹ Interpretations of such remaining landscape myths are presented by Schama in *Landscape and Memory* (1995). One of the remaining landscape myths described by Schama is rooted in the notion of the four ‘basic elements’, described by ancient Greek philosophers 300 BC. The four elements were air, earth, water and fire. This categorisation has been used throughout the Western world, looking slightly different, but has remained similar for a long time and it still helps us shape and describe the world almost unconsciously. Simon Schama also explains our perception of landscape through the remaining myths of wood, the tree worship and the sacred grove, the myths of the waters, rivers and the ocean, and the myths of the mountain and rock⁴², which has been studied in relation to Ronneby Spa in Article IV.

I believe that our experience of landscape still has a lot to do with myths or notions about for example the four basic elements. As shown in Article IV, the medical philosophy was early on built upon the notion of the four elements influencing our temper and our well-being. Even though medical philosophy has changed, the myth about landscape still lingers and shapes our way of experiencing our surroundings.

There are biological and evolutionary theories, or explanation models, on why we experience and interpret landscape the way we do. The British geographer Jay Appleton’s theories on perception of our environment in *The Experience of Landscape* (1975) deals mostly with how our visual impressions and our sense of movement leads to different experiences of the landscape. He presents the ‘prospect-refuge theory’ based on arguments of the evolution of man. According to his theory, the discovering of hazards and the opportunities to hide have been crucial for survival⁴³. Thus we constantly in-

⁴¹ Schama (1995), p. 15.

⁴² Simon Schama (*Landscape and Memory*, 1995) presents three basic elements of landscape memories and myths; wood, water and rock. “Wood” refers to all vegetation, living and dead, as well as the whole forest which include animals. It also includes things built with wood. “Rock” is referring to both mountain and the earth, but the most persistent myths of the rock are those about the elevated mountainsides. The “water” refers to the still and the running water, the river and the ocean and the lake. The water is described by Schama as a symbol of circulation and the bloodstream. With this description the flowing water could also be represented by the pathways of a park (my conclusion).

⁴³ Appleton (1975), p. 73.

interpret the landscape visually in order to seek properties of places with ability of over viewing and for refuge. He also mentions the importance of locomotion as we instinctively seek out opportunity for movement, connected to the possibility of refuge.⁴⁴ He does not mention the interpretation of other senses than the visual in order to seek out prospects and places for refuge. The consequence of Jay Appleton's theory is that certain environments make us feel uncomfortable and some make us feel safe and at ease.

A biological/evolutional explanation model for our environmental perception and response to landscape is also presented by Roger Ulrich in theories about 'Affective-Aesthetic response' to landscape.⁴⁵ Shortly it can be described as a physical action and mental feeling that follows a sensory experience. The theories explain what feelings the landscape arouses, based on our instincts derived from the will to survive in a combination of inherited (or genetic) response and a social (taught) response. The 'Affective-Aesthetic response' is a consequence of the sensory input we are exposed to through vision, sound, touch, taste and smell. For example, Ulrich suggests that an open field or a view is calming if we keep our retreat free behind our backs. The inherited response comes from the age of the hunting society, when it was dangerous to be exposed in the open field. Those who were cautious survived.

Knowing that the stay at the spa was voluntary and proclaimed safe by doctors to begin with, the 'prospect/refuge theory' and the 'affective-aesthetic response' as explanation models for our feelings and behaviour in landscape does not apply for the spa landscape the same way as they may do for other landscapes. The evolutionary theories could also be questioned since there is no way of going back in time and validate the theories against the people of pre-history. But as explanation models for landscape experience they are very useful to understand how and why we react to certain stimuli in our environment.

Yi-Fu Tuan has another explanation model of the interpretation of landscape in *Topophilia* (1990 [1974]) and in the article 'Space and place: humanistic perspective' (1974). These explanation models can be called humanistic-philosophical reflections on the aesthetics of environments, combining biology, psychology and philosophy. He separates the perception of the individual, the group and the species and focuses on differences in attitudes and values of people today. We actually only have one thing in common and

⁴⁴ Appleton (1975), p. 119.

⁴⁵ Ulrich (1983) and Ulrich (1986). Roger Ulrich is a behavioural scientist and a professor both in the Department of Architecture and the Department of Landscape Architecture and Urban Planning at the Texas A&M University.

that is our physical senses. Our sense of space develops when we are very young, through our physical senses, first getting to know our environment by tasting it and touching it. Through the sense of space we determine our relationship to the world around us and feel that we are in place.⁴⁶ This implies that it is necessary to actually taste and touch the landscape to feel 'in place' and to really know and perceive the environment, like we did when we were very young. I find this explanation model of how we experience landscape and interpret space inspiring. It implies that anyone who shapes the environment can intensify the experience of space and landscape by using a combination of sensory impressions.

Using Yi-Fu Tuan's ideas, among others, on perception of the environment, Douglas Porteous describes the "inscape"⁴⁷. By inscape he means the observer's mental landscapes that are composed by the basic elements in our surroundings. Such inscapes are, as he describes them; sea and land, coast and interior, garden and house, forest and paths, mountains and caverns. Douglas Porteous implies that we have an inherited 'landscape of the mind', a "paysage intérieur"⁴⁸ in connection to our animal brain..

Considering such mental landscapes based on the elements of our surroundings, it is perhaps easier to create a connection to the landscape surrounding us if it is designed with these basic features. According to another theory, by Tim Ingold; "the building and dwelling perspective", worlds (in mind of reality) cannot be made before they are lived in.⁴⁹ Therefore, they cannot be experienced either, before they are lived in or built. The 'inscape explanation' with inherited mental landscapes implies that all landscape is already lived in, already built and experienced by all human beings. That, we know, cannot happen in reality. Therefore, the 'inscape explanation model' of how and why we experience landscape can only partly apply; for those landscapes already lived in and for those landscapes already built. It can not apply for landscape in general.

The experience of landscape as a scene can not apply for landscape in general either. Landscape has two meanings in that it can be defined using two different words; region and picture⁵⁰. In German and Nordic countries, the definition of landscape has been dominated by that of 'region' and the 'prospect of a country' and later on the landscape was defined as a scene or a

⁴⁶ Tuan (1974), p. 211-252.

⁴⁷ Porteous (1990), p. 87f.

⁴⁸ Porteous (1990), p. 197.

⁴⁹ Ingold (2000), p. 179.

⁵⁰ Definition of "landscape" in Dr Johnson's Dictionary from 1755 is quoted by Kenneth R. Olwig (2007), p. 586.

view (see definitions of concepts above). This can be compared to the Anglo-American world where it early on has been defined more as a 'picture' and a 'region' at the same time, representing an extent of space and a scene simultaneously.⁵¹ Therefore there are different ways of perceiving landscape depending on where you were raised and where you live. However, the meaning of landscape in general has widened from defining landscape as a scene and a region towards defining landscape as 'place', an area as experienced/perceived by people, put forward by for example the European Landscape Convention (ELC).⁵² Today the meaning of the term landscape is broader than that of a view, a panorama or a provincial law in both Sweden and England. It has also become wider than that of environment or nature and is instead being seen "as a political and cultural entity, changing in the course of history".⁵³

I think that the genetic response to landscape is an interesting explanation model on how we experience landscape in general. But I believe that a combination of the prevailing landscape myths, the humanistic-philosophical reflections on the environment and the building and dwelling perspective is the most applicable in the case of explaining the experience of Ronneby Spa in the late 19th century, partly because the environment was described as 'safe'.

⁵¹ Olwig (2005) and Olwig (2007).

⁵² *European Landscape Convention*, online at the homepage of the Council of Europe, <http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/en/Treaties/Html/176.htm>, 2009-01-04.

⁵³ Olwig, 2005. p. 293. In the article, Kenneth Olwig is quoting J. B. Jackson's article 'The order of a landscape' (1979).

On the conservation of designed landscapes in Sweden

There several legislations and conventions/documents to refer to when working with documentation and conservation of designed landscapes and gardens in Sweden. The ones focused on here, and in the process of working with Ronneby Spa, are those protecting mainly culture-historical values; the Heritage Conservation Act of Sweden (Kulturminneslagen, KML 1988:950), the Florence Charter by ICOMOS-IFLA⁵⁴ (1982) and the Swedish National Heritage Board's advice concerning the Heritage Conservation Act in *Allmänna råd till Lagen om kulturminnen* (1991) and The Swedish Environmental Code (Miljöbalken, 1999), chapter 7.

The European Landscape Convention, signed by Sweden in 2000 and now in the process of ratification⁵⁵, could in the future provide a set of arguments for the conservation of gardens as landscapes as perceived by people.

The Heritage Conservation Act of Sweden (Kulturminneslagen, KML)

The Heritage Conservation Act of Sweden came into force in January 1989 and includes paragraphs on designated heritage buildings (In Swedish: byggnadsminnen)⁵⁶. County Administrative Boards can declare buildings of particular historic and cultural interest a designated heritage building and according to the act the designated cultural heritage building could also comprise parks and gardens with culture-historical value. Parts of Ronneby Spa were declared a designated heritage building in 1996 (see Figure 4).

The National Heritage Board's advice to the Heritage Conservation Act

To further protect the designated heritage buildings the National Heritage Board of Sweden has published advice on how to interpret the legislation in *Allmänna råd till Lagen om kulturminnen* (1991). According to this advice the park designated a cultural heritage building also could lie independently from a building. The park or garden can in itself be designated a cultural heritage building. The advice also stresses the importance of conservation plans⁵⁷ for the designated heritage buildings, reassuring the future conserva-

⁵⁴ ICOMOS=International Council on Monuments and Sites. IFLA=International Federation of Landscape Architects.

⁵⁵ This sentence was written 2009-09-02.

⁵⁶ Lagen om kulturminnen, *Svensk Författningssamling* (SFS) 1988:950, 1§, 3 kap. Byggnadsminnen.

⁵⁷ Conservation plan can be translated to 'Vårdplan' or 'Vårdprogram' in Swedish.

tion of the heritage in question. The conservation plan should have clearly defined long term objectives based on a thorough investigation and analysis of the source material, the history and the functions. It should also include recommendations on maintenance and notes on the renewal, replanting or reconstruction of the vegetation in gardens.⁵⁸ This means that the protection by the means of the Heritage Conservation Act and the designated heritage building paragraph is more meaningful when a conservation plan is presented.

To be able to define long term objectives and to propose recommendations on maintenance, the conservation plan has to include *documentation, historical analysis and descriptions, definitions of values* (significance), definition of a *conservation policy* and a proposal for *implementation* of that policy with a long term perspective.⁵⁹ Those headlines were used by the National Property Board in Sweden (Statens Fastighetsverk), when they developed a template for Conservation programmes (in Swedish: Vårdprogram) for Swedish designated heritage buildings during the late 1990s.⁶⁰

As for Ronneby Spa, a Conservation plan was written by employees at the Department of Landscape Planning Alnarp in 1999, after the designation of the spa as a cultural heritage site/building in 1996.⁶¹ Study 1 referred to in this thesis (Jakobsson, 2000) represented the documentation and historical analysis in that Conservation plan.

The conservation plan (or conservation programme) is a prerequisite for strategic documents, such as a management plan (in Swedish: skötselplan), on how to further implement the presented conservation policies. Conservation plans addressing designated heritage buildings are often combined with

⁵⁸ *Historiska parker och trädgårdar - ett arv att vårda och sköta* (1996), Edited by Bonnier, A. C., The National Heritage Board och Lundquist, K., Department of Landscape Planning, SLU Alnarp, p. 10.

⁵⁹ Those headlines are presented in the English Heritage's template for conservation plans in general, written by Kate Clark, head of historical analysis and research team at English Heritage, in *Conservation Plans: A guide for the perplexed* (1998). That template is frequently used and has been presented on several English conservation sites on the internet (for example the internet sites the Institute of historic Building Conservation and the Heritage Lottery Fund).

⁶⁰ The headlines for the National Property Board's Conservation programmes are retrieved from the National Property Board's homepage and presented programmes in their search database at <http://www.sfv.se;presentation/documentation> of present state, historical analysis and description, definition of values, conservation policy and strategies/implementation (mål och strategier/riktlinjer för långsiktigt bevarande)

⁶¹ Setterby, Åsa; Gustavsson, Roland; Jakobsson, Anna; Lorentzon, Kenneth and Lundquist, Kjell (2000), *Ronneby Brunnspark. Vårdplan – Övergripande Riktlinjer och detaljerade åtgärdsförslag för Ronneby Brunnspark's bevarande, vård och utveckling*, Rapport 00:5, Department of Landscape Planning Alnarp, SLU.

management plans at a later stage. The management plan more often than not has a more short term perspective than the conservation plan and therefore has to be updated often. However, management plans including a long term conservation perspective are prerequisite maintenance documents for culture reserves, described below. Of course, both types of documents can be used and written for any historic garden even though there is no legislation demanding it.

The Florence Charter (1982)

ICOMOS-IFLA:s international committee for historic parks and gardens worked out a document in Florence in 1981 concerning the conservation of historic parks and gardens. ICOMOS registered this document, the Florence Charter, in 1982 as an addition to the Venice Charter of 1964, dealing with conservation of monuments and areas of historical interest.⁶²

The Florence Charter includes specific criteria for the conservation of parks and gardens which includes the handling of a heritage in continuous growth and change, such as plants. The entire charter includes 25 Articles, whereof Article 1, 6 and 15 is of specific interest here.

”*Art. 1.* An historic garden is an architectural and horticultural composition of interest to the public from the historical or artistic point of view. As such, it is to be considered as a monument.”

”*Art. 6.* The term, "historic garden", is equally applicable to small gardens and to large parks, whether formal or "landscape".”

“*Art. 15.* No restoration work and, above all, no reconstruction work on an historic garden shall be undertaken without thorough prior research to ensure that such work is scientifically executed and which will involve everything from excavation to the assembling of records relating to the garden in question and to similar gardens. Before any practical work starts, a project must be prepared on the basis of said research and must be submitted to a group of experts for joint examination and approval.”⁶³

The concepts ‘historic park’ and ‘historic garden’ can be applied to Ronneby Spa. Even if I call Ronneby Spa a landscape it is still considered an his-

⁶²The Florence Charter online; http://www.international.icomos.org/e_floren.htm, accessed 2009-04-30.

⁶³The Florence Charter online; http://www.international.icomos.org/e_floren.htm, accessed 2009-04-30.

toric garden according to the Florence Charter. Article 15 further stresses the importance of the conservation plan and the historical research. The scientific research is pointed out as an obvious part of the preparatory work when restoring or reconstructing the garden as part of the conservation process.

The Swedish Environmental Code (Miljöbalken, 1999)

The Environmental Code came into action in January 1999, modernising and replacing 15 previous environmental acts with an aim to promote sustainable development. One of the applications of this legislation is to protect and preserve valuable natural and cultural environments.⁶⁴ According to Chapter 7 on 'Protection of areas', the County Administrative Boards and County Councils have the ability to establish culture reserves for preserving valuable cultural landscapes. Just as for Nature reserves described in the same chapter, a management plan must be established for the long term preservation.⁶⁵ Ronneby Spa was declared a Culture reserve in 2003. An historical description/inventory and a management plan were written in connection to this.⁶⁶

The European Landscape Convention (signed 2000)

The convention's aims are to protect, maintain and plan landscapes by means of national measures and European cooperation. It covers all types of landscapes and regards landscapes as dynamic, as opposed to static. Every nation that ratifies the convention agrees, among other things, to integrate landscape in regional and town planning, as well as in cultural, environmental, agricultural, social and economical policies. Each country must also include measures such as awareness-raising, education, definition of landscape qualities, identification and assessment of landscapes.⁶⁷

The Swedish National Heritage Board (RAÄ) has written and sent out a proposal for implementation of the European Landscape Convention in Sweden that has been under consideration by, among others, the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU) until 1st of June 2009, but no political decision on this proposal has been made yet.⁶⁸ It is therefore not yet

⁶⁴Information on the Environmental code has been retrieved online from the homepage of Naturvårdsverket:<http://www.naturvardsverket.se/en/In-English/Menu/Legislation-and-other-policy-instruments/The-Environmental-Code/>, 2009-04-30.

⁶⁵ The Swedish Environmental Code translated to English is found on the Swedish government's homepage: <http://www.sweden.gov.se>, accessed 2009-04-30.

⁶⁶ Study 2 and 3, published in Jakobsson (2004a).

⁶⁷ Jones, Howard, Olwig, Primdahl, Sarlöv-Herlin (2007), p. 207.

⁶⁸ Date when this sentence was written: August 28, 2009.

clarified what impact the European Landscape Convention will have on analysis, documentation and conservation of historic gardens and landscapes. But it is clear that the convention does consider the historic gardens when stating that landscapes are “areas, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors”.⁶⁹ The garden is a landscape whose character is the result of human action.

Historical analyses of landscapes and case studies on designed landscapes have important roles to play in the measures that have to be undertaken by countries signing and ratifying the European Landscape Convention.

Attitudes towards conservation amongst some contemporary Swedish landscape architects

Interviewing three Swedish landscape architects; Walter Bauer⁷⁰, Klaus Stritzke⁷¹ and Sven-Ingvar Andersson⁷², in 1992, the journalist Randi Mossige Norheim received three different angles and viewpoints on what to consider when working with historic parks and gardens.⁷³

Walter Bauer, firstly, did not want to use the word reconstruction to describe his work in historic gardens, but rather renovation, meaning re-establishing but not necessarily in its original form. Additions or changes can be called for if they can be argued by means of the historical material or an interpretation of art and architectural history. If you do not have any source material to rely on, you have to rely on your own senses: “Do not do any-

⁶⁹ *European Landscape Convention*, online, 2009-01-04.

⁷⁰ Walter Bauer (1912-1994) was a Swedish landscape architect working with gardens in a wide scale, from private gardens and manors to residential areas, hotels and offices. He was famous for his work within conservation and restoration. Among the gardens he worked with are Drottningholm castle (1950-1969), Forsmark (1962-1978) and Tessin's Palace (1965). (Bauer, 1990 and Mossige-Norheim, 2000, p. 231-241).

⁷¹ Klaus Stritzke (1934-) is a landscape architect, dendrologist and garden historian from Germany with his own practice in Stockholm. He is known for the conservation project on Drottningholm castle (from the 1990s till today) and the issue of how to handle formerly pruned lime trees from the 18th century.

⁷² Sven-Ingvar Andersson (1927-2007) was an internationally known landscape architect and professor at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen. Among his projects were the renovation of Ronneby Spa (1987), the reconstruction of Tycho Brahe's Uraniborg on the Island of Ven (1990-92), and the renewal of the area around Lund Central Station (1993-1996). (*Sven-Ingvar Andersson – Havekunstens idé. Kommentarer till projekterne*. Comments on the projects, 2004)

⁷³ There can be a mix up of different conservation concepts when I have tried to translate them from Swedish into English. Where it is possible I try to spell out the meaning of each word in the text.

thing unnecessary, but if you are going to do something, do it with taste and style”.⁷⁴

Klaus Strizke, on the other hand, meant that nothing should be done to a garden unless you know everything about its past. What it really looked like once is more important than an idea of how it should look, even if the idea is presented in a plan. To be able to make a reconstruction, in his view meaning rebuilding something that no longer exists, you have to use the same material, the same tools and the same techniques as when the garden was made. If we do not have those tools and the correct knowledge, we should not do anything. For parks, restoration has the same meaning as renovation has for objects, which is a proposal for actions on existing material. Klaus Strizke meant that any restoration that is not entirely authentic is a ‘pastiche’,⁷⁵ promising to be authentic when it is not.

Somewhat different from the authentic reconstruction of the design or the reconstruction with historical ‘taste’ are the ideas Sven-Ingvar Andersson had on reconstructions of gardens. He worked with the objective of recreating the ‘poetics of the place’, reconstructing the experience of history and/or the poetic experience of the garden. Before choosing means of reconstruction and/or restoration he meant that it is necessary to ask the garden what story it wants to tell.⁷⁶ To the vocabulary of conservation concepts⁷⁷, he added the notion of ‘free renewal’ (in Swedish: ‘fri förnyelse’), meaning that the proposal has origins in the original idea or design, but has a new content or shape based on the architect’s interpretation of the time and the spirit of the place.⁷⁸

Every generation will be criticised by the next and there is no theory that is always applicable when it comes to building conservation.⁷⁹ Göran Kåring⁸⁰ defines three head theories; 1) leaving it untouched 2) restoration to original state or 3) renewal to a practically useful and beautiful building for today’s people. Those three theories can be traced in the three landscape architects’ work as described above.

⁷⁴ Mossige-Norheim (1992), p. 22.

⁷⁵ Mossige-Norheim (1992), p. 29.

⁷⁶ Mossige-Norheim (1992), p. 24.

⁷⁷ Concepts used when proposing actions for historic parks and gardens.

⁷⁸ These ideas correspond to earlier landscape architects’ ideas such as those by G. N. Brandt, a Danish Landscape Architect in the early 20th century. This being said, Sven-Ingvar Andersson was not the first architect to describe ‘free’ relationship towards reconstruction. Brandt also combined history with his own interpretation of the time and the specifics of the place when proposing reconstructions for Marienlyst, for example (see Salto Stephensen (2007), p. 194f).

⁷⁹ Kåring (1995), p. 369.

⁸⁰ Göran Kåring is a building conservation historian.

More often than not, a combination of these three main theories is used in the conservation of Swedish gardens in general. Thorbjörn Andersson (1992) points out that Bauer, Stritzke and Andersson have their base in all three aspects but the division of them could be fruitful for the general debate and the discussion on how to work with conservation issues.⁸¹

The account above is not discussed more comprehensively in the thesis but serves as a background for discussing the heritage of Ronneby Spa and the question of involving senses and an *imaginary weave* in the analysis of historic parks and gardens. As an addition to this, it is important to note that my discussion on the heritage of Ronneby Spa is influenced of this time, to which specificity I am deaf to. As Göran Kåring describes it: “Posterity will hear it all the more clearly”.⁸²

Development of the research questions

A quote by Esaias Tegnér; “Det dunkelt sagda är det dunkelt tänkta” [Obscure expressions reveal an obscure mind and/or thought]⁸³ has been the guiding light for me when working with different concepts in garden art and design. The expression deals with what I have aimed *not* to do. I do *not* want to be ill prepared concerning facts and empirical material before I make statements. To be as thorough and precise as possible is also how I approached the case and the empirical studies of Ronneby Spa, in search for answers on the questions: what did it look like?, who made it and when? Those questions were prominent in my master thesis and the early studies on Ronneby Spa, even though a small “why?” was also included.⁸⁴ I wanted to come as close to the essentials of the spa as possible, since if you do not altogether know what you are talking about, it is difficult to explain it to someone else and it is not certain that the message is received the way you want it to be received. To always be as clear with your intentions and conclusions as possible, to be able to explain the research to wider audiences, to go back to the original sources and to be careful in the interpretations have become my aims in writing and especially when working on the empirical material in Article I and II.

⁸¹ Andersson (1992), p. 17.

⁸² Kåring (1995), p. 386.

⁸³ The quote by Esaias Tegnér (1782–1846) is from an Epilogue at a ‘magisterpromotion’ in Lund, 1820.

⁸⁴ See summaries of Study 1, 2 and 3 in the Framework appendix.

After finding out the answers, or the ‘close enough-answers’ to the first questions *who*, *when*, *how* and *what*, the scope has widened towards the understanding of Ronneby Spa by discussing the design principle of the spa especially in Article III and the Licentiate thesis. The question was why the spa was designed in a certain way rather than how it was designed. The change in approach could be described as moving from a narrow empirical analysis towards contextual interpretations from a more philosophical viewpoint. Practically this means that the empirical material found in archives and literature was first used to find out and present facts on the design and actual plant material. The material was thereafter used to reflect on the design and the reason why the plant material was used in a certain way. A principle of the design of the spa, a *how* based on the answer *why*, was described in a Licentiate thesis 2004⁸⁵.

After writing the licentiate thesis, I moved on towards finding out “what does all this mean”? What does the *why* mean and what does the *how* mean for those people experiencing the spa? The question on whether the spa was actually experienced the way it was described in the tourist brochures was the next issue that came to my mind. I had written about this in Article I, but I wanted to investigate it further; how could the spa visitor’s actual experience in the late 19th century be studied and described? Finding actual descriptions of the experience would of course be the best thing, but very few of them exist. Three of the rare descriptions (by Otto Stiernström, J. C. H. Brinck and Carin Sylvander) were thoroughly analysed in Article I, III and IV in different ways. However, these analyses did not give a satisfying picture of the whole landscape experience. The next step was for me to broaden my perspective towards a contextual analysis by involving other disciplines research get closer to the whole picture. That is what this thesis represents; a contextual analysis based on the detailed empirical study of Ronneby Spa, involving for example research on history of ideas, history of garden design and human geography. A discussion on the interplay of different factors in the experience of the spa landscape is the result of this perspective change.

Being at Tjärö in Blekinge archipelago in September 1996, practicing landscape management as a landscape architect student, I started for the first time to think of the of bodily experience in relation to landscape⁸⁶. First I

⁸⁵ See Appendix: Summary of Licentiate thesis.

⁸⁶ Professor Roland Gustavsson, at the Department of Landscape Planning Alnarp, was supervising the student course on Tjärö in 1996. He argued that it is through being in the landscape, shaping it with your own hands and experiencing it with your whole body, that you actually learn and understand the landscape.

became interested in, and realised, the importance of being in the landscape when learning about landscape, and shaping it physically. I wanted to investigate how knowledge on bodily experience can be used in landscape analysis and writings on landscape history.

In the discussion of this thesis I am involving senses and bodily experience, realising that it is not solely through words written by others that the experience of Ronneby Spa can be detected, but also through imagined bodily experience. In this case it could be done either through empathically trying to experience the spa today or by interpreting the plans, the design and the medical spa philosophy. In a way of clarifying the experience of the spa in the late 19th century I try to explain the sensory experience of an imaginary spa visitor, interpreting the experience of the landscape using both empathy and the empirical material. In the search for the plausible experience I have made an illustration of the sensory experience of Ronneby Spa, included in the discussion below.

In these efforts of trying to find the plausible experience I have come to realise that involving sensory experience in landscape analysis can widen the perspective on heritage and conservation as well as the understanding of 'place', of the spa park and of garden design in the late 19th century Sweden.

Experiences with inspiration from poetry and paintings were central in the design of landscapes in 16th century England, and reusing them when working on those gardens today widens the experiential perspective as well as the understanding of history. The method of conservation and reconstruction using poetry and illustrations to get back to a 'lost' experience, is used in for example the conservation of Stowe Landscape Gardens and of Stourhead in England.⁸⁷ It appeals to me that the evoking of feelings is something desirable in conservation of the cultural heritage, not only a visual impression of what it once looked like. To be moved emotionally can be equally important, if not more important, as being moved visually since "an intense experience of the moment's pleasure affords the strongest feeling of eternity".⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Thoughts on how heritage can be more available, translated and experienced began when I worked as a National Trust volunteer at Stowe Landscape Gardens in 1998. When weeding and planting in William Kent's Elysian Fields I reflected upon the descriptions and expressed states of the mind in the poems by Alexander Pope as set forth in guidelines of the "Conservation plan for Stowe Landscape Gardens" for how the Elysian Fields should be experienced by the public. The plan was written by National Trust garden's advisor Mike Calnan in the early 1990s.

⁸⁸ The poetics of landscape, the importance of senses, dreaming and the bodily experience is discussed by Anne Whiston Spirn when she presents Sven-Ingvar Andersson's life work in *Festskrift Tillegnet Sven-Ingvar Andersson September 1994*, Copenhagen: Arkitektens Forlag. The quote is from page 112.

My interest in sensory experience of landscape has also widened through my work in the context of SENSYS (Sensory Systems) research school of the Alnarp Faculty that began in the autumn 2006. The change of my project's name within that research school also tells a story about the change of the research question. At first, my project was called "The scenography of the walk - landscape and the senses", meaning that the design of the spa was a performing art, with focus on movement and the landscape around it as a scene to be experienced with all senses. Now the research focus has changed from the scenography of the walk to the experience of the walk, but with the senses still in the subtitle.⁸⁹ Through this mental shift the factors affecting the experience can be discussed more widely, not solely with the supposition that it is the scenography on its own affecting the experience. I am back to the "how" again. How is the experience of the spa affected, by what factors is it affected and how can it be described?

The visual sense is, with some exceptions in music⁹⁰ and literature, alone used to describe an environment or a place in words. My interest lies in describing places, parks and gardens through more than one sense and thereby more in accordance to our whole knowledge and experience of a landscape. I am interested in how a sensory description of the garden experience can be done and how that way of describing landscape can be useful in for example conservation and heritage discourse.

Questions discussed at the licentiate seminar in October 2004 have influenced the discussion in the doctoral thesis, for example how the visualisation

⁸⁹ It seemed natural to research on senses in combination with spas. Elisabeth Mansén's continued research and teaching after writing about spas has also dealt with senses. (in the course 'History of the senses' at Stockholm University and in the book *Vidgade sinnen* (2003) for example.

⁹⁰ One of Sweden's most famous songwriters, Evert Taube (1890-1976), used the landscape together with sensory and bodily metaphors, giving life to seemingly simple things such as a kiss. Sven Kristersson, musician and member of the Taube-society, made me realise that Evert Taube's texts involve landscape described with all senses, which inspired me. For example: "Så skimrande var aldrig havet (a description of what it looked like at the sea) och stranden aldrig så befriande, (feelings) fälten, ängarna och träden, aldrig så vackra (vision, the beauty of nature) och blommorna aldrig så ljuvligt doftande (the scent of flowers) som när du gick vid min sida (movement) mot solnedgången, aftonen den underbara, (vision, light, temperature) då dina lockar dolde mig för världen, (touch and vision) medan du dränkte alla mina sorger, (sadness becomes happiness) älskling, (love) i din första kyss." (touch).

of the design principle of the spa could be made. How could the empirical material be further processed and explained to mediate understanding of Ronneby Spa and the cultural heritage? Also the intertwining of the aspects facts, reflection and history of ideas into a whole was something discussed at the licentiate seminar and has influenced the discussion below.

During the last two years I have been thinking about the preconceptions I had when starting this research project. This thesis has been written from a landscape architect's point of view. In the landscape architect's training and education in Sweden several subjects are studied, for example plant physiology, social studies, botany, ecology, geography, landscape architecture, conservation, history, planning and design. Several theoretical perspectives are also added to the programme. This means that a multidisciplinary approach is the training and working field of the landscape architect.

However, the multidisciplinary perspective is not the only working method of the landscape architect. By having the design and planning of the physical reality as a working field, the landscape architect's analysis of landscape often involves sketching and imaginary shaping of the physical reality whilst interpreting it. The questions of how it looks (design) and how that appearance has been realised (design process) are always part of the process of analysis. The visual aspect, how it looks and why it looks like that, is important. That explains why my first studies on Ronneby Spa focused on the design of the spa and the physical, visual reality, most of all. Starting with the shape and the shaping of the physical reality is part of the landscape architect's working method. From there the questions have widened to the ideas behind the design and the wider sensory experience of it.

A part of the landscape architect's working method, is also the thought of the landscape as something continuously changing and something that has been shaped by man or nature. This is not unique for landscape architects but the consequence of this thinking, from a landscape architect's point of view, is that when working with landscape the landscape architect analyses structure, contents and form with an objective to shape, reshape or propose other actions. The continuous shaping of landscape, either in imagination or in reality is part of this thesis' background. This being said, it is not only with an historical perspective I have written the thesis, but also with a design perspective; the question of shaping a landscape and how that shaping can be done, in reality and/or in imagination. Through for example the sensory description of Ronneby Spa's landscape, further down in the discussion, I both shape and describe the landscape of the late 19th century at the same time, even though it is imaginary, based on the empirical material.

Quite late in the research process I discovered the archaeologist and historian Robin George Collingwood's writings (*The Idea of History* and *The Principles of Art*) when it comes to imagining and knowing something about a landscape experience in the past. Already influenced by writings about human landscape experience by the human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, about garden design throughout history by John Dixon Hunt, about perception of architecture by the philosopher Maurice Merleau-Ponty and about the perception of the environment by the cultural anthropologist Tim Ingold, Collingwood's writings provided a complement referring to the phenomena of human relation to the surroundings. The experience of garden design, the experience from the human body's perspective and the experience of history could be discussed together through these writings.

Purpose & Objective

The main purpose of this thesis is to use the case study Ronneby Spa as means to broaden the landscape heritage and landscape conservation discourse. The objective is to contribute to a widening of knowledge on the constituents of landscape heritage, on the design of spas and on garden design in the late 19th century.

The discussion in this thesis primarily deals with four topics

- Actors involved in the design process of Ronneby Spa.
- The experience while walking in the landscape of Ronneby Spa in the late 19th century.
- The interplay of garden design, the medical philosophy and the senses in landscape experience.
- How knowledge of different actors and of the interplay between garden design, senses, walking and medicine contributes to the heritage and conservation discourse.

Research questions – a summary

The questions asked in Article I, II, III and IV:

- When was the spa established, how was it designed, with what material, who designed it and for what reason? (Factual and causal description of the history and the physical reality/the design)
- What actors contributed to the design and experience of Ronneby Spa and how?

The questions asked in the framework of the doctoral thesis:

- How can the experience of Ronneby Spa in the 19th century be studied/described?
- How did the ideas on garden design and the medical spa philosophy interplay in the design of Ronneby Spa?
- How can the case study of Ronneby Spa be used in the landscape heritage and the landscape conservation discourse?

Methodological and theoretical approach

Processing the empirical material in a case study

This thesis is mainly based on a case study of Ronneby Spa. The method has been throughout qualitative⁹¹, with the objective of understanding Ronneby Spa in detail as well as a whole and in relation to the European spa movement.

The empirical material of the case study has been processed in many stages. Firstly, when working on Article I and II, conclusions, analysis and interpretations were made based on experiences and findings⁹², in the field in different archives and in literature.

Secondly, through the analysis of the empirical material a pattern was found and a general idea on the design principle of the Swedish spa, and for Ronneby Spa in particular, was formulated. This general idea is summarised in the words *Water, Walk, Rest, View and Variation*, in the Licentiate thesis' framework (see Appendix).

Thirdly, the empirical material has been further processed in Article III and IV and in the doctoral thesis' framework. Trying to understand and describe the experience of Ronneby Spa, research focus has switched on either my own empirical material or other people's research and theories. The method in the doctoral thesis' discussion can be explained as a reflection on my own earlier interpretation of the empirical material.

In a fourth stage of processing the material, different aspects of experience have been in focus of interpretation. Those aspects of the spa experience (or factors affecting the experience) have been the design, the medical spa philosophy, the walking and the sensing. The result of my research on those aspects in the case of Ronneby Spa, combined with other disciplines' research, I call an *imaginary weave*.

Answering questions through an imaginary weave

An *imaginary weave* is a way of answering the question of how the spa was experienced while walking. I have imagined the designing process, the walking action and the sensory experience of Ronneby Spa, using an ap-

⁹¹ As in trying to find the quality, the 'essens', of Ronneby Spa by interpreting the material and reflecting on it (in Swedish: *tolkning och reflektion*).

⁹² Interpretation and conclusions based on experience and findings; an inductive method.

proach to such historic questions described by Robin George Collingwood⁹³ in *The Idea of History*, 1994 [1946]. In his writings on the historian's way of working, he described how the historic past can be understood and reached by 're-thinking' and by 're-acting' the past through the context of his own knowledge and thought. The 're-enactment doctrine' presented by Collingwood was at first received with criticism amongst historians because it was interpreted as a methodology involving an intuitive capacity in the historian. Several historians said that the doctrine should not be seen as a methodological prescription for acquiring historical knowledge, but as an answer to the philosophical question of how historical knowledge is possible.⁹⁴ Today, this way of working, the re-enactment of historic thoughts in a new context has become accepted as one of the historians' working methods⁹⁵.

Through a method of imagining answers it is possible to say I know something about Ronneby Spa, historically even though I did not live then. Combined with my own knowledge, imagination and thought it is, according to Collingwood, possible to understand how the spa was experienced in the late 19th century. I want to point out that I do not use re-enactment as a method to recover exact past thoughts, but rather as way of identifying possible thoughts and to illustrate past thoughts. I share, if I know enough about the empirical material and the spirit of the time, thoughts with the historical agent (for example the spa visitor), according to Collingwood. Identifying those thoughts, emotions and senses contribute to the understanding of Ronneby Spa, in history and in the present.

⁹³ Robin George Collingwood (1889-1943) was an archaeologist, a philosopher and historian in Oxford, Britain. He became an authority on the subject of *The Archaeology of Roman Britain* (1930) but also on the subject of philosophy of history in the 1930s. One of his most famous writings is *The Idea of History*, which was posthumously published in 1946. *The Idea of History* was considered to be the best introduction to historical studies in 1946 (according to the Introduction to *The Idea of History* ed. 1994) but it also received critique for declaring all history as the history of thought, mainly because it was taken as a directive for methods within historical research and as such it was limiting the historians activities. Lately, Collingwood's theories have been used in a more conceptual than methodological way, as criteria for identifying and distinguishing thoughts, not a method for the recovery of past thoughts.

⁹⁴ This is also how Collingwood's theory on re-enactment mainly is interpreted and used today. The receiving of *The Idea of History* then and now, and the re-enactment doctrine, is described in the Introduction to *The Idea of History* ed. 1994, p. xxv-xxviii.

⁹⁵ Collingwood's thoughts on the task of the historian and the working method of the historian are discussed by Rolf Johansson (2000) in 'Ett bra fall är ett steg framåt', in *Nordisk Arkitekturforskning* årg. 13 , nr 1-2, page 70. Johansson says that re-enactment is the historians "prime" working method. Examples on other researchers on landscape planning and design who have referred to Collingwood's methods are: Anders Larsson (2004) and Eva Gustavsson (2001).

My imagining of Ronneby Spa, using different aspects, becomes a “web of imaginative construction”, in Collingwood’s expression⁹⁶. As for the discussion on interplay between sensory experience, medical spa philosophy and garden design I instead would like to use the term weave, because I do not just reflect upon threads of my own research and thoughts, even though the result (the conclusions of the thesis) is my own reflections and thoughts presented. The weave of Ronneby Spa I present reflects a context and an interpretation of Ronneby Spa through other disciplines’ viewpoints and thoughts together with my own. I use the work presented by for example human geographers, historians of ideas, art historians, anthropologists, environmental psychologists and landscape architects to create the weave of Ronneby Spa. The thesis is not only a discussion from one separate discipline’s viewpoint, but several, in an attempt to build an *imaginary weave* of thought and context, perhaps also appealing to more than one discipline’s imagination and preferences. Therefore the term to describe what I am discussing would be a ‘weave of imaginary construction’. However, I do not wish to use the term weave in the sense of a picture, but as a representation of a context. The picture as an object is too easily confused with the visual sense. It is not merely through the visual sense I want to interpret the landscape experience, but through all senses.

My starting point is that there is no self-evident ‘inner landscape’ to start with, such as an inherited landscape of the mind implied by for example Douglas Porteous (see the section “On landscape experience” above). Memories of a certain landscape can be preserved and called an inner landscape if you will, but an inner landscape does not fully exist until experienced. As Tim Ingold states (2000): “[it is] through living in it, the landscape becomes part of us just as we are part of it.”⁹⁷ The explanation of what the experienced landscape is, when we walk in a park for example, could be that it is a combination of our former memories of landscapes and the momentary experience with our physical senses. Landscape is not either an outer (physical) or inner (mental) experience but a combination of them both at all times; A weave of imaginative construction.

Within historiography, some recent debates have evolved around history and interdisciplinary research.⁹⁸ An argument put forward is that the use of

⁹⁶ Collingwood (1994 [1946]), p. 242

⁹⁷ Ingold (2000), p. 191.

⁹⁸ The historian within the field of historical demography, Katherine A. Lynch (1992), writes about ‘History and the Pursuit of Interdisciplinary Research in the Human Sciences’ in a collection of essays from the biennial Pittsburgh Conference on Social History, called *Theory Method and Practice in Social and Cultural History*.

interdisciplinary methods and approaches can help historians achieve their goal of completeness in their work. To achieve this interdisciplinary approach it is beneficial to be at the margin of already existing disciplines where the distance to other disciplines is easier to bridge.⁹⁹ Such a discipline would be garden history, to which I count my own research, which has been established at the margin of for example art history, landscape architecture and ethnology in Sweden.

My approach in trying to construct an *imaginary weave* using more than one discipline could also be explained through the approach of NCH (New Cultural History), which is characterized as having more than one source of inspiration. Peter Burke explains the difference between NCH and the ‘old’ ways of researching history with an example from the literary world of Jane Austen. The new cultural history differs from ‘old intellectual history’ like Jane Austen’s sisters of fiction, called sense and sensibility in the novel with the same name from 1811; “The older sister, intellectual history, is more serious and precise, while the younger is vaguer but also more imaginative”.¹⁰⁰

Illustrating the landscape experience

The experience of art is both a sensuous experience (seeing, hearing, touching etc) and an imaginative experience, a thought, at the same time¹⁰¹. Art is experienced through both body (the senses) and mind (the imagination) which together makes the sensation provided by art¹⁰². To clarify the sensory impressions at Ronneby Spa in the late 19th century, I present the sensory experience of the spa through someone else; a spa visitor taking the cure and walking in the landscape. This method has been used in Article I (Jakobsson, 2003) and III (Jakobsson, 2004b), to some extent, where I interpret the experiences of the spa visitor in the late 19th century.

Collingwood separates the ‘perceptual imagination’, the possible perception of an object, for example when imagining the backside of the moon, and the ‘historical imagination’ when the past becomes an object of thought since it is not there to be actually perceived with the senses as the moon is¹⁰³. In a way it might be said that my imagined experience personified by someone else is both a possible perception of an object and a historical imagination of my own at the same time. Ronneby Spa is actually there, to be ex-

⁹⁹ Lynch (1992), p. 73.

¹⁰⁰ Burke (2004), p. 50.

¹⁰¹ Collingwood (1958 [1938]), p. 148.

¹⁰² Collingwood (1958 [1938]), p. 173.

¹⁰³ Collingwood, (1994 [1946]), p. 242.

perienced, but the way it looked and how it was experienced in the late 19th century can only exist in my historical imagination.

Using sensory impressions to describe the aesthetic experience of a place and its architecture has been done before by Åsa Dahlin in 2002. In an essay in her doctoral thesis *On architecture, aesthetic experience and the embodied mind* she describes her own encounter with Pompeii, Italy. The description of her experiences includes background knowledge such as maps, drawings and historic descriptions that she believes enriches the imagination. She combines this 'former experience' with new experience such as sensory and emotional experience of Pompeii today, in situ.¹⁰⁴

She uses the self, but mainly a "we" as in all people, when she describes the place. She thinks a wider knowledge of history, the social dimension and of society completes the story of aesthetics. Just as intended in this thesis, she uses movement and the walk when she describes the place she is investigating. Mostly the descriptions are from a visual point of view, but she also includes notes on the weather, the topography and the emotions.

As Åsa Dahlin did in 2002, I am exploring a way of describing a place in a more varied and multidisciplinary manner in the discussion of this thesis. But my purpose is also to convey a notion of the spa landscape to others in a wide sense, through all senses via the walking action. The way my description of Ronneby Spa differs from hers of Pompeii, is that it is based on a detailed case study, it is placed in the late 19th century and it includes more sensory impressions. The illustration I make below, of a spa visitor's experience, is a combination of historical aesthetics (as I interpret them), knowledge of history and a description and interpretation of which sensory impressions could be involved.

Katja Grillner's imaginary walk with connoisseurs in a landscape garden in the 18th century is another attempt to reach the spatial experience of the garden in a different time and to reach the thoughts behind the design.¹⁰⁵ With the aim to grasp the thoughts of that time she places herself in a dialogue, walking with Thomas Whately and Joseph Heely in Hagley Park, discussing their garden theories and literary garden representations as they walk along. In her dissertation Katja Grillner showed an example of using the spatio-temporal (travelling in both time and space) phenomenon within the field of architectural research. This thesis also explores this spatio-temporal phenomenon with the walk, though using the empirical material in a single case study as a starting point instead of specific garden theorists. I

¹⁰⁴ Dahlin (2002), p. 129.

¹⁰⁵ Grillner, Katja (2000), *Ramble, Linger and Gaze: Dialogues from a Landscape Garden*, Doctoral diss, Stockholm: Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), Department of Architecture.

also try to interweave the story with sensory impressions to explore the *bodily* spatio-temporal phenomenon and how that contributes to a wider understanding of the studied case instead of trying to understand a certain representation of garden theory.

Generalisations based on a single case

I have made generalisations through the case study Ronneby Spa concerning understanding of the spa phenomenon as a whole and concerning the heritage of spas, according to Harry Eckstein's theories that case studies are valuable at all stages of the theory building process and that theories can be tested through a single case¹⁰⁶. This is also argued by Bent Flyvbjerg but in a slightly different way. He argues that is possible to generalise through a single case, but the concrete and contextual knowledge of the case is more valuable than the search for theories and universals¹⁰⁷. The most important issue for the case study is therefore not to build theories but to contribute to contextual knowledge. That is also the objective of this thesis.

A relevant case with strategic meaning

The choice of case was not strategic, since it originally was an assignment from Ronneby Council to the Department of Landscape Planning Alnarp, but the case has strategic meaning compared to the defined problem; what is a Spa and why?, and is by that definition critical.¹⁰⁸ During my studying of Ronneby Spa I have come to the conclusion that Ronneby Spa is a representative example of what a spa is and why it is designed like that. It is representative of how medical beliefs affected spa design, of late 19th century garden design in southern Sweden, of the development of society and medical history, of how a park can be handled heritage- and conservation-wise and of how the spas developed in general in Europe in the late 19th century. The conclusions drawn from the studied case's qualities as representative, implies that it could be used as a paradigm case¹⁰⁹, meaning that it can be used as a metaphor or set an example in the study of historical gardens.

¹⁰⁶ Harry Eckstein's *Case theory and Theory in Political Science* (1975) is quoted by Bent Flyvbjerg in *Rationalitet og magt*, Bind I: Det konkrete videnskab (1991).

¹⁰⁷ Flyvbjerg (1991), Bind I, p. 165.

¹⁰⁸ Flyvbjerg (1991), p. 149. Flyvbjerg describes the critical case as having strategic meaning compared to the defined problem.

¹⁰⁹ Flyvbjerg (1991), p. 150 and 152. Describing paradigm cases, Flyvbjerg states that a paradigm case is a "prototype" that could contribute to development of scientific theory on the subject the case involves.

Ronneby Spa was developed in a period when the spa movement was at its peak in Europe. It also has similarities, in the design, medical use and history, of spas on the continent. The case study also reveals that the plant material used in the park was expensive and modern for that time (Jakobsson, 2000 and 2004). The way of using a renowned landscape architect in the designing process shows a will to be compared to the great German spas with designers such as Peter Josef Lenné. The analysis of the design of Ronneby Spa reveals a structure and a spatiality that can be discussed and used in studies of garden design in general.

The analysis of the empirical material in the case study Ronneby Spa reveals a piece of a greater puzzle. It reveals a piece of a spirit of the time, a piece of the history of Spas in Sweden and Europe, a piece of the medical spa philosophy, a piece of the role of movement and senses in landscape design and a piece of an understanding of the heritage discourse in Sweden. In this way, the studied case Ronneby Spa has relevance that reaches further than the border of the spa gates.

Phenomenological approach

Apart from historic ‘answering’ and the case study method, it is important to explain something more about the phenomenological approach in the discussion of the thesis, involving landscape experience. Landscape phenomenology often lays stress upon bodily contact with, and the experience of, the landscape¹¹⁰ and “phenomenology involves the understanding and description of things as they are experienced by a subject”¹¹¹. My interest lies in describing and understanding the experience of Ronneby Spa in the end of the 19th century. Places acquire a history by virtue of the actions and events that take place in them. Ideas of landscape experience have begun to be adopted by landscape historians concerned with recent periods and has informed a number of studies of ‘elite-designed’ landscapes¹¹². The idea of landscape experience is used more and more as a way of understanding and informing the study of designed landscapes in general.

Collingwood refers to two different sides of the studied event or object, i.e the phenomena. Firstly there is the outer, physical side and secondly

¹¹⁰ Wylie (2007), p.139.

¹¹¹ Tilley (1994), p. 12.

¹¹² Williamson, 2009:142. The term ‘elite-designed’ landscape is used to describe the studies in garden design history and the design of landscapes at great estates. Williamson wants to clarify that the experience of the remote past is difficult to recover since it is difficult to know how people experienced or thought about their environment. However, that is easier to do with the recent past.

there is the inner side including intention, purpose and ideas.¹¹³ In this thesis, the physical properties of the spa environment, the outer side of the phenomena according to Collingwood, were studied in Article I and II and analysed further in Article III. The ideas and the purpose of Ronneby Spa were included as well but have been supplemented gradually when the empirical material has been further processed in Article IV and in the discussion of this thesis.

In this thesis I discuss the experienced spa landscape as an interplay between humans and the physical environment, inspired by Tim Ingold's phenomenological (2000) argument that there are not two sides of landscape (as in a mental and a physical landscape), only the experienced landscape. This interplay is clarified through a discussion on the aspects designing, walking and sensing, which have their origins in the medical spa philosophy. Through the discussion below I try to understand the intentions and ideas of the medical philosophy and the design and how they interplay. The discussion on landscape heritage further down in the thesis is an effort to reach further into the meaning and ideas of the spa phenomena and the experience of the spa landscape as a whole, both past and present.

Included in the discussion below on the physical side of the experienced phenomena are Maurice Merleau-Ponty's *Phenomenology of perception* (2002 [1962]) and a collection of lectures in *The World of Perception* (2004). They both discuss the body and how we perceive the physical environment. To the phenomenological approach I include the writings on relational space, how we experience space and place and how we learn about space and our way in the world through our bodies by Yi-Fu Tuan (*Topophilia* (1990 [1974]) and *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience* (2007 [1977])). Included in this discussion is also a way of discussing relational space used by John Dixon Hunt in *Greater Perfections* (2000) where the relation between man and nature and how we have shaped our physical environment through history is analysed.

¹¹³ The terms are used by Collingwood in *The Idea of History*, 1994 [1946].

Material – empirical and theoretical

Empirical material

The empirical material on Ronneby Spa used in the case study of the licentiate thesis and frequently quoted in the discussion of the thesis consists mainly of primary sources. Those primary sources are first of all plans, illustrations, photographs, account books, minutes of board meetings, tourist brochures, annual reports and correspondence in archives in Ronneby, Karlskrona, Copenhagen and Stockholm. Through the drawings and plan material in the landscape architect Henry August Flindt's archive at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen the design of the landscape, as in the intended experience, of Ronneby Spa has been analyzed. With this primary source material as a starting point I discuss the spirit of the time and the spa's design as part of a landscape architecture tradition.

An important primary source has also been the Ronneby Spa landscape itself. The archive material and the credibility of the findings have been evaluated in comparison with the spa landscape today. The existing park landscape gives the case study a third dimension in space and a fourth dimension in time. Last but not least among the primary sources on the spa and its medical philosophy are the descriptions and treatment programmes of spas in general and of Ronneby Spa in particular (for example Hellman, 1860, Söderwall, 1879 and Levertin, 1883). The primary sources mentioned above have been combined in various ways in the analysis and interpretation of Ronneby Spa. They have also been used with different angles of approach; the spa visitor's experience (Article I), the gardener's and the landscape architect's influence on the design (Article II), the design principle in general and the spatial organisation of the spa (Article III) and the doctor's and the medical spa philosophy's role in the design of the spa (Article IV).

Main secondary sources and general literature in the licentiate thesis have been: descriptions and writings on Ronneby Spa and spas in general (Article I and III), on garden art in the 19th century (Article I, II, III and IV), on medical beliefs and on landscape experience (Article IV). The descriptions of spas in general have for example been found in books and articles and tourist books on spas from the late 19th and the early 20th centuries.

The discussion on the connection between the landscape architecture at the time and the medical spa philosophy is based on literature within the specific topic of designing spa facilities. Examples of available sources of de-

sign inspiration for both Flindt and Swedish designers for spa facilities as such were; *Theorie der Gartenkunst* by Christian Cay Lorentz Hirschfeld (1777-1785), Carl Linnaeus' *Diaeta acidularis* (1761) and *Trädgårdsskötsel*, part III, by Daniel Müller (revised by Agathon Sundius) in 1888¹¹⁴. Those are the sources directly dealing with the specific design of spa facilities. That literature has also been discussed in the Licentiate thesis, Article III and IV. Sources dealing indirectly with the design, discussing the course of medical treatment but not the specific design, are discussed in Article I, III and IV.

Theoretical material

The theoretical material is discussed mostly in the framework of this thesis, but also to some extent in Article I, III, and IV. When reflecting upon my interpretations on the design and the experience of landscape in the thesis' discussion, several other researchers' theories are used to interpret my findings additionally to create a wider context. Mainly I have chosen to quote and discuss research with a phenomenological approach, similar to my own. Those disciplines quoted are for example history of ideas, human geography, anthropology, garden history and medical history. The multidisciplinary approach is an essential part of the professional method of a landscape architect, as described above and it contributes to the *imaginary weave*.

The discussion on garden and landscape design in general through history and the reading of landscape derives mainly from writings by John Dixon Hunt in *Greater Perfections* (2000) and by Anne Whiston Spirn in *Language of Landscape* (1998). On Garden design in Sweden in the 19th century, the discussion is based on my own written material (published and not published), the doctoral thesis by Catharina Nolin (1999) and the doctoral thesis by Eivor Bucht (1997). On the design theory of C. C. L. Hirschfeld, Linda Parrshall's writings (2001 and 2003) are combined with Hirschfeld's own writings.

The discussion on the phenomena of human perception of landscape is based mainly on *Phenomenology of Perception* by Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2002 [1962]), on *Topophilia* (1990 [1974]) and on *Space and Place. The Perspective of Experience* (2007 [1977]) by Yi-Fu Tuan.

¹¹⁴ This was the third edition of *Trädgårdsskötsel* by Daniel Müller, revised and published by Agathon Sundius in 1888 after Daniel Müller's death. The parts describing the garden at the spa facility (or gardens for "pleasure and delectation") was new in this edition and probably written by Agathon Sundius.

Specific writings on the action of walking used in the discussion are many but the most important are the historian Joseph Amato's *On Foot* (2004), the journalist and writer Rebecca Solnit's *Wanderlust* (2002) and the anthropologists Tim Ingold's and Jo Lee Vergunst's edited collection *Ways of Walking* (2008).

On the subject of senses and landscape the discussion of this thesis include theoretical writings by the human geographer Yi-Fu Tuan already named above. On the aesthetics of landscape experience I refer to *Eyes of the skin – Architecture and the senses* by the architect Juhani Pallasmaa (1996) the aesthetic theorists Allen Carlson and Arnold Berleant¹¹⁵ and writings by the cultural geographer¹¹⁶ Douglas Porteous in *Environmental aesthetics* (1996). The journalist Diane Ackerman's *Natural History of the Senses* (1990) has been used as inspirational literature on the subject of senses and experience.

When it comes to research on senses, the Concordia Sensoria Research team (CONCERT)¹¹⁷, starting in Canada 1989, and the interdisciplinary forum SenseScapes¹¹⁸ started by members of the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council) in the UK in 2005, has been sources of inspiration. CONCERT explore the role of senses in Western and non-Western cultures. One of the members, David Howes, is editor of the newly founded (2006) journal *Senses and Society* which brings together research within the field of senses in humanities and social sciences. SenseScapes bring together researchers within several disciplines with a focus on sensorial studies of human interaction with physical environments.

In the discussion on the medical spa philosophy in Sweden, writings by professor in history of ideas Elisabeth Mansén; *Den svenska kurortskulturen* (the Swedish Spa Culture) 1660-1860 (2001) and *An Image of Paradise: Swedish Spas in the Eighteenth Century* (1998) are the most important. The writings on history of medicine by the historian Roy Porter in *The Medical History of Waters and Spas* (1990) are used when discussing and comparing Swedish medical spa philosophy in relation to European spas.

¹¹⁵ Mainly *Aesthetics and the environment* (2000), by Allen Carlson, and *Aesthetics and Environment* (2005) by Arnold Berleant and *The Aesthetics of Human Environments* (2007), edited by Arnold Berleant and Allen Carlson,.

¹¹⁶ That is his subject of study as he describes it himself on the University of Victoria's, Canada, website <http://geog.uvic.ca/dept2/faculty/porteous/porteous.html>, accessed 2009-03-12.

¹¹⁷ Information on CONCERT starting in 1988 at the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Concordia University in Montreal Canada is retrievable from <http://www.david-howes.com/senses/>, accessed in 2009-05-26.

¹¹⁸ Information on SenseScapes is retrievable from <http://www.sensescapes.co.uk/index.htm>, accessed in 2009-05-26.

On the ‘spirit of the time’, in the late 19th century Sweden, Karin Johansson’s *Kroppens tunna skal* (1997), *Nostalgia* (2001), *Den Mörka Kontinenten* (2005 [1995]) and the ethnologists Jonas Frykman’s & Orvar Löfgren’s *Den Kultiverade Människan/Culture Builders* (1979/1996) are combined with those by Elisabeth Mansén and Roy Porter, especially when it comes to the view on health, medicine and the body in general at that time, described in the background above.

On philosophy of history, on heritage and conservation issues writings from several disciplines have been used. For example *The Past is a Foreign Country* (1985) and *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1998) by the historian and geographer David Lowenthal, *Heritage: Management, Interpretation, Identity* (2003) by the geographer Peter Howard, introductions to *Perspectives on Garden Histories* (1999) and *Performance and Appropriation: Profane Rituals in Gardens and Landscapes* (2007) by the sociologist and garden historian Michel Conan. Included in the discussion on the historian’s method, the imagined history and the experience of art are the writings by the archaeologist, philosopher and historian Robin George Collingwood; *The Idea of History*, 1994 [1946] and *The Principles of Art* (1958 [1938]).

The common denominators of the chosen theorists are that they write either on the specific spirit of the time (in the late 19th century), historical research method or about landscape and the experience of it.

Delimitations

The primary source material of this thesis is delimited to Ronneby Spa and do not extend to other spas in a wider sense other than in general terms and occasional comparisons. The objective is not to compare Ronneby Spa with other spas but to discuss what the design of Ronneby Spa means and how the discussion and the findings on Ronneby Spa can be applied to similar environments.

The studied period is mainly from 1873 to the 1910s when Ronneby Spa was enlarged to resemble a spa on the continent and when Ronneby Spa had a peak in the number of visitors. Geographically, the main area studied is Ronneby Spa as it was laid out during that time. The change Ronneby Spa has gone through since then is not dealt with in detail, but when it comes to the cultural heritage point of view in the discussion and the description of the experience of the spa today, the spa’s history as a whole is considered.

Even though I wish to tell a story about Ronneby Spa, I do not go deeper into theories on the narrative. Landscape narratives are however a part of the empirical material of this thesis. The same counts for the landscape heritage discourse and the history of garden conservation ideology. I do not have the ambition to describe neither of those more comprehensively, but merely to contribute to the discourse and the general discussion on the subjects.

The approach in the discussion is multidisciplinary, but I do not have the ambition to include as many disciplines as possible per se, only the different disciplines which relate to the subjects of senses and landscape experience.

When discussing the cultural heritage of Ronneby Spa with David Lowenthal¹¹⁹ it became clear that the heritage of spas was not entirely calming, relaxing and sweet as we nostalgically¹²⁰ want it to be. He pointed out that there is a 'dark side' of the heritage and the aesthetics at spas, for example in death. Death was constantly a part of the spa, both in thought and reality. It was not solely a social arena, but also a place where sick people came to be cured, or die. The beautifying and the romanticising of the heritage of Spas is something I want to discuss further, after the finishing of this thesis.

The illustration of the sensory experiences of a spa visitor, in text and image below, is a way of clarifying which senses were involved in the design and the experience of the cure. It also visualizes an *imaginary weave*, combining medical spa philosophy, garden design, sensory experience and other facts on Ronneby Spa to a whole. However, it is not intended to be a deeper discussion and interpretation of gender issues or of social and political ideas in the late 19th century. The illustration could be supplemented with hints in that direction later on.

When discussing the walking I do not include the walking action as phenomenon in everyday life, pilgrimage or hiking. The main focus is the purpose of movement within the garden design of and medical treatment at spas.

¹¹⁹ I discussed the heritage of Ronneby Spa with David Lowenthal in a course called "Landscape and Heritage", held at Department of Landscape Planning Alnarp 5-8 October 2004, by Professor Kenneth R. Olwig.

¹²⁰ Nostalgia is expressed by Historian of Ideas, Karin Johannisson (in *Nostalgia*, 2001) as a bittersweet feeling and sometimes an embellishment of the past; that it was better back then. Johannisson also describes the nostalgia as a cultural disease of today, a falsification of history, making it better than it actually was.

Summaries of Articles

The publications discussed in the framework of the doctoral thesis are four articles; Article I (Jakobsson, 2003), Article II (Jakobsson, 2005), Article III (Jakobsson, 2004b) and Article IV (Jakobsson, working manuscript). In 2004 Article I and II were discussed in a Licentiate thesis' framework.¹²¹ In the Licentiate thesis three studies, Studies 1–3¹²², were also discussed. Those studies deal with Ronneby Spa as a heritage building site and as a Culture Reserve. One of those studies, Study 1 (Jakobsson, 2000), is a master thesis which was evaluated in 2000. The three studies represent a stage of the research where the empirical material was processed and analysed to work as conservation documents. The Studies 1–3, and the Licentiate thesis' framework (Jakobsson, 2004a) are not included in the doctoral thesis, but they are used as reference documents since they are important documents in the case study of Ronneby Spa as a whole.

Articles I and II are discussed again in the framework of this thesis, but in a new context together with Article III and IV. As for Article II, the original manuscript published in the licentiate thesis (Jakobsson 2004a) included footnote references but the publication in *Ronneby Brunn under trehundra år* (2005) included in this thesis does not. For footnote references, see original manuscript for Article II in the Framework appendix on page 151 or in the licentiate thesis.

The doctoral thesis' framework, Article III and Article IV are in English. All previous publications on Ronneby Spa named above are in Swedish, with summaries in English.

¹²¹ Jakobsson (2004a), see the Framework appendix for a summary. The Licentiate thesis was defended and evaluated 29 October 2004.

¹²² Summaries of Studies 1–3 are found in the Framework appendix.

Article I

Article I; 'Brunnsgästens resa i tid och rum – om hälsobrunnens parker och trädgårdar' (Time and Space in the spa visitor's experience), *RIG* no 4, 2002, describes the mandatory walk and the well-drinking ritual the spa visitor was expected to follow. The purpose of the article is to show how the time-scheduled travel within the spa facility affected the experience of the spa visitor and the design of the park.

The article describes the spa visitor's experience of time and space during the water-drinking ritual and it discusses the effect the rules of the treatment programme had on the spa visitor's experience of travelling in time and space. It also defines the essential design elements of the spa according to the cure and that the park space is defined through the spa visitor's movements.

The essential design elements were; the spa avenue, the benches, the dry paths and a park for promenades. The walk towards a beautiful view is used in the article as a symbol for the essence of the spa idea, which was better health through a sense of calm through movement and experience of time as well as space. The spatial design is mainly described as being a consequence to the spa visitor's time-scheduled movement.

Article II

Article II; 'Med lie & lukjörn, spade & sopkvast, penna & pensel, dynamit & dahlör och frustration & fröpåsar' (With scythe & weed iron, spade & broom, pencil & paint-brush, dynamite & dahlias and frustration & seed packets) in *Ronneby Brunn under trehundra år*, 2005, presents and discusses the creators of Ronneby Spa's landscape from 1705 till today; the pharmacists, the gardeners and the landscape architects. The main period in focus is the late 19th century and the subject in focus is the history of Ronneby Spa through the Danish landscape architect Henry August Flindt's and the gardener Henrik Madelung's points of view. They gave the design of the spa in Ronneby a material form and structure in the 1870s. The article includes a summary of plants delivered to the garden during the expansion years 1873-1878.

The outline of this article is based on the empirical studies in Study 1 (Jakobsson, 2000) but goes further in studying the efforts of each gardener and the ideas of Flindt interpreted through correspondence between Flindt and

Madelung, through archive material and writings on Flindts professional life. A discussion on what parts of his ideas were really realised is also included.

The first doctors on the scene were pharmacists and in a way they were the first gardeners of Ronneby Spa, planning the layout of the spa. The water boy (in Swedish: brunnskänk) was, in the early days, the person who maintained and cultivated the grounds. The gardener Henrik Madelung's role for Ronneby Spa's development and management from 1874 and forward (to the 1920s) cannot be underestimated. It was in many aspects 'his' park, even though he was controlled by a contract from the Board of the Spa and by the rules of the doctors.

The early plans of Ronneby Spa show resemblance with other Swedish spas and for example Bad Pyrmont in Germany. The design of the spa is described as result of the ideas and handy work of gardeners and landscape architects, based on the general spa idea.

Correction of Figure text on page 104 in Article II: The horse carriage in the photograph is not gardener Madelung's. It belongs to Alexius Persson, porter (in Swedish: stadsbud) in the town of Ronneby. The horse's name is Pelle, which was the name of all of Alexius's horses, and the picture was taken 1920.

In the process of publishing this article the footnote references were excluded. For footnote references see the original manuscript to Article II in Framework appendix, starting on page 151.

Article III

By combining the findings in Article I, Article II and the analysis and reflections in the framework of the licentiate thesis, Article III summarises the spatial organisation of the spa environment and the design principle of spas, depending on the mandatory movement and the cure programme the spa visitor had to follow.

Article III; 'Ruled by Routine and Ritual: Spatial Organization of the Spa Environment at Ronneby, South-East Sweden' in *Garden History* (2004) deals with the mandatory movement of the treatment programme as a way of determining the spatial organisation of the spa.

Article III starts with an examination of the spa phenomenon in Sweden as a whole, and in particular the spa in Ronneby towards the end of the 19th century. A comparison is then made with a few contemporary spas in Europe as well as in Sweden.

The article concludes that the routines and rituals of the cure controlled how the spa park was organized spatially and that Ronneby Spa's design principle could be expressed as "Water, walk, rest, view and variation", due to the course of treatment and the order of which the spa visitor experienced the spa environment. A spa visitor's schedule, when following the walking routine of taking the waters, created the park spaces of the Swedish and the European spas. Controlled by the course of treatment, a spa visitor moved between and within places with different character and functions inside the Spa Park, which created a spatial structure of different milieus necessary for the cure. The course of treatment and the water drinking ritual also controlled what design elements were included in the spa. The design of the spa is described as being controlled by the medical spa philosophy (i.e. the cure).

Article IV

In Article IV, the doctor's role in the spa design is further discussed as is the interplay between theories on garden art and medical beliefs when designing spas. The article also discusses the role of the walk and the senses, the "moderate mental agitation" according to the doctors, when it came to the design of spas.

The article concludes that the doctors and the medical beliefs (for example the notion on the four elements) played important roles in the design of spa landscapes. The article also points out the interplay between the medical spa philosophy of doctors and the garden design ideals at that time, exemplifying with connections between garden theorists' and the doctors' way of arguing for sensory aspects, the necessity of movement and the way the spa should be designed for medical purposes. The common denominators were *Motion*, *Emotion* and *Variation*. The design of the spa, the sensory garden, is described as an act of interplay between medical spa philosophy (doctors) and ideas on garden design.

Discussion

In the centre of the research on Ronneby Spa are the walking action and the experience of it, discussed in Articles I, III and IV and personified by the spa visitor. Article III and IV argue that the programme of the cure controlled the design principle of the spa. During the continued research process after Article III the questions have evolved around the experience of the spa design and the interplay between the spa philosophy (the cure and the doctors) and ideas on garden design (landscape architect, gardener and garden theorist). The walking action has been central in that discussion too, being one of the common denominators of garden design and spa philosophy in the late 19th century.

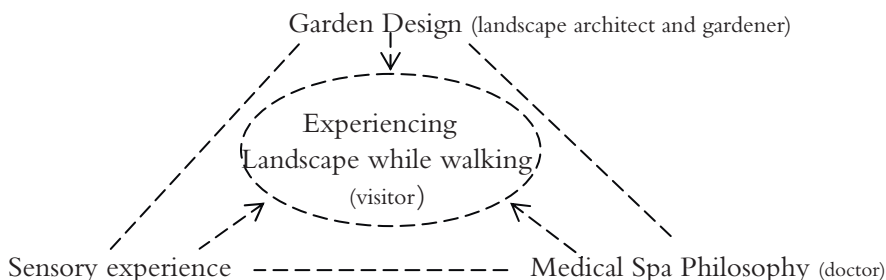


Figure 6. A model of factors I discuss affect the experience (arrows) while walking in the landscape of Ronneby Spa in the late 19th century; the sensory experience, the garden design and the medical philosophy. The model shows how the different factors are all connected and dependant on each other (lines). The sensory experience in the model can be translated to the human body and mind. The medical spa philosophy consists of ; the ‘spirit’ and the medical philosophy at that time and the medical particularities of the spa. The design, the way in which the physical reality of Ronneby Spa was built up, organised and shaped, is re-appearing in different parts of the thesis as a whole which is why it is positioned at the top of the model. The actors in the spa landscape could be put in the model as shown.

The structure of the discussion is based on factors affecting the experience while walking in the landscape. Those factors are in this case the garden design, the sensory experience and the medical spa philosophy. The structure of the thesis can be illustrated with a model where all factors depend on, and influence, each other (see Figure 6).

The aspects of the experience chosen in the headings below; the designing, the walking, the sensing and the heritage (the future of the past) explain the order of my own approach to the case Ronneby Spa. Gradually, the different headings also represent a higher degree of reflection on the empirical material and four different ways of discussing the Articles.

The first chapter in the discussion addresses the designing process and the facts on the design of Ronneby Spa, based on findings presented in Article I, II, III and IV. The chapter on the designing of the spa primarily discusses who, when and how it was done, which represents the first step of my research on Ronneby Spa and the first research questions in the process as a whole. In this discussion I also add the question why, clarifying the interplay between garden design and medical spa philosophy.

The second chapter discusses the walking action, which is described as a crucial part of the spa landscape in Article I, III and IV. The main issue discussed in those articles is in what way the mandatory walking action influenced the design of spas and how that in turn controlled the spa visitor's experience of the landscape.

The third chapter derives from the last two years of study, where the senses have had a large impact on my work within the SENSYS research school at Alnarp. It is based on the discussion in Article IV and inspired by two paper presentations in 2007 and 2008¹²³. The chapter revolves around the involving of senses in the design of spas. It further illustrates how the sensory experience of the 19th century can be interpreted in the source material and how the knowledge and understanding of the sensory experience in gardens in the past could enhance the experience of the place today.

The fourth chapter involves a discussion on how the detailed case study on a landscape, such as Ronneby Spa, combined with research on landscape experience, history of ideas, human geography and analysis in sensory experience can be beneficial in the conservation discourse. This refers not only to the benefits for the understanding of the cultural heritage of Ronneby Spa and of gardens from the end of the 19th century. It also refers to the under-

¹²³ The paper presentations were called "Landscape and the senses" (see Jakobsson, 2007: http://rum1.aarch.dk/fileadmin/userfiles/hpd/42E_Jakobsson_Landscapeandthesenses.pdf) and "Sensing heritage" (2008), discussing the use and importance of involving senses in the analysis of historic parks and gardens as well as how it can be done.

standing of the landscape heritage in general and how landscape can be perceived in reality, in memory and/or in imagination by today's visitors. The heading "Heritage – the future of the past sensing, remembering and imagining of the spa landscape" refers to that the heritage includes the past spa visitor's experience and memories, presented to us today via the source material. At the same time heritage involves the present spa visitors' experiences and imaginations of the Spa. As the present could be defined as the past of the future, the including of the present visitor's experience is part of the future heritage of the spa.

Experiencing the late 19th century spa landscape in Ronneby

1. Designing the spa landscape

Medical spa philosophy, sensory experience and garden design in interplay

At first the factors affecting the design¹²⁴ of spas in the late 19th century seemed to be mainly the medical cure and the landscape architect in charge of the design. This is discussed in Article I, II and Article III.¹²⁵ Reflecting further on the empirical material together with theories on garden design and on the medical beliefs, reveals interplay between garden design, medical spa philosophy (the doctors and their beliefs) and sensory experience when it came to designing the spa.

The interplay between garden design and medical spa philosophy is seen in the cure programme and the design history of Ronneby Spa as shown in Article IV. As the cure programme appears to be a main controlling factor for the layout and contents of Ronneby Spa and other spas¹²⁶, the medical spa philosophy's impact on the design of spas is of relevance. The medical spa philosophy changed slightly from the earliest days of spas in Sweden, from Urban Hiärne's ideas for Medevi in the 1680s to the heydays of Ronneby Spa in the end of the 19th century. For example, the walking action was more controlled in the beginning (see below under "Walking the spa landscape"). Another change from the 1680s to the late 19th century was the way in which the free mind and spirit was believed to contribute to the healing of patients (see below under "Sensing the spa landscape"). The belief that the free mind and spirit was important in the late 19th century had impact on the way the spa was described in tourist brochures in the late 19th century and it also had impact on the actual design. From being a strictly regulated, symmetric and relatively small facility, Ronneby Spa was enlarged and supplemented with plantings and walking areas with more 'free' nature-like design in the late 19th century.

The main ideas for the spa and the foundation for the medical spa philosophy originated from medical research at the time and the belief that differing climate, related to differing combinations of the four elements in the physical environment, controlled the balance in bodily fluids and the fluids

¹²⁴ I would like to stress that the design in question is landscape design and garden design.

¹²⁵ Also discussed in the Licentiate thesis (Jakobsson, 2004a) and in Study 1 (Jakobsson, 2000). See the thesis' Appendix.

¹²⁶ As discussed in Article I, Article II, Article III and Article IV.

in turn controlled well-being and different diseases¹²⁷. The water from the well at Ronneby Spa was supposed to rebalance those ‘fluids gone wrong’ in the bodies of the spa visitors. Together with a special diet and moderate exercise (walking), the disease would dissipate. These were the main guidelines for the spa’s medical philosophy, explained in Article IV.

Article IV concludes that the late 19th century medical spa philosophy and the doctors’ practice at the spa had a greater impact on the design of spas than first seemed to be the case. It was not the cure programme alone, or the landscape architect in charge, that set the scene for the spa’s design. At Ronneby Spa, the Spa Board had a lot to say in the matter and the board consisted of four people, among which was at least one doctor at all times¹²⁸. The doctors received their education at spas in Sweden in the late 19th century¹²⁹ and through their being at the spa, in such a designed environment, another connection developed between garden design and medical spa philosophy. Being at Ronneby Spa, supervising patients’ recovery from walking in the spa environment, the doctors received first hand information on what kind of activities, and what walking recommendations, gave the best results. Hence, it can be said that they developed an appreciation of which garden design was best suited for the recovery of patients. Notes on the curing of different diseases reveal that the movement in open air¹³⁰, meaning exercising outdoors and gardening work, were noticed by doctors as being important for recovery.

There is a detectable design principle for spas, based on the cure programme and that is *Water, Walk, Rest, View and Variation*¹³¹ explained in Article III. This conclusion is made mainly from the expressions in tourist brochures, the writings of spa visitors and the writings of garden theorists. The five words *Water, Walk, Rest, View* and *Variation* express the order of the cure, but also the order in which the spa visitor experienced the design of

¹²⁷ Urban Hiärne expressed this in his programme for Medevi in the 1680s and Carl Linnaeus in *Diaeta acidularis* in 1761. Hiärne was inspired by Hippocrates’ theories on different fluids balancing the body and thereby your well-being (see Article IV).

¹²⁸ Central Archives in Ronneby, Ronneby Spa’s archives, AI:2 Minutes of Board meetings (Protokoll) 1873–1898.

¹²⁹ Mansén (2001), p. 44.

¹³⁰ In the doctor’s handbook *Vattenläkaren*, by Carl Munde 1842, the disease hypochondria (common among men, the book says) was cured with gardening work. Anaemia, constipation, haemorrhoids, irregular menstruation, sleeplessness, weakness of the nerves and hysteria (many of which are described as diseases of the woman) were cured with movement in the open air. All diseases mentioned should either be combined with baths and/or taking the waters.

¹³¹ This is my own summary of the design principle of spas, explained and summarized on p. 12 in Jakobsson (2004a) and explained in Article III.

the spa. At certain moments in time, the spa visitors should move around, as discussed in Article I. That movement took place in different parts of the spa which were identifiable with differing design as explained in Article III and Article IV. Those parts of the spa were: A) an orderly planted area around the well, B) a park with winding paths surrounding the well, C) the forest, a former grazing area, very similar to the surrounding nature and landscape. (see Figure 8a and 8b) The further away from the well the spa visitor walked, the more the spa landscape at Ronneby Spa seems to have been designed to resemble 'wild' nature.¹³² This connects to the bourgeoisie view upon nature as domesticated and the fashion at the time in exploring landscape while walking, described in the background above.

These findings, combined with the theories of John Dixon Hunt on the 'three natures' in *Greater perfections: The Practice of Garden Theory* (2000), suggest that there is interplay between medical spa philosophy and ideas of garden design when shaping the grounds of the spa. Hunt explains that three scales of 'nature' can be detected in garden design ever since Roman times, and particularly during the Renaissance and the era of the English Landscape Garden.¹³³ These three scales (simplified) are the wilderness, the agricultural landscape and the garden. In the case of Ronneby Spa the areas A, B and C have gradually more resemblance to nature. At Ronneby Spa there were also farming areas belonging to the gardener Madelung that can be described as part of the second scale of nature in Hunt's expression, however not available to the spa visitor except in the visual sense.

Another important factor in the designing spas was sensory experience. The importance of variation in sensory experience in garden design is detectable through Christian Cay Lorentz Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* as described by Linda Parshall (2001 and 2003) and discussed in Article IV. Hirschfeld's authority when it came to the design of spas is described further in forthcoming sections of this thesis.

Article IV also states that the sensory experience was important from the medical point of view in the spa environment in a 'moderate mental agitation' stated in cure programmes. The ideals of garden design, as well as the medical spa philosophy and the importance of sensory experience interplay in the design of spas in the late 19th century. Garden design ideals (for example Hirschfeld) resemble ideas within medical philosophy and parts of the medical spa philosophy resemble the garden ideals at the time. Common features for the ideas on garden design and the medical spa philosophy were

¹³² The order of the spa visitors' experience of the landscape is further discussed in Article I, III and IV.

¹³³ Hunt (2000), pp. 51-70.

the importance of movement, sensory experience and the aspect of variation, as described in Article IV.

Garden theorists linking medical spa philosophy and garden design

Three important and leading garden theory books by Christian Cay Lorentz Hirschfeld (*Theorie der Gartenkunst*, 1779–1785), Humphry Repton (*Memoirs* ca 1814–1818) and John Claudius Loudon (*Encyclopaedia of gardening*, 4th edition 1835 and 9th edition 1860) all deal with spas. The edition of the widely spread Swedish book on gardening, Daniel Müller's *Trädgårdsskötsel* published and revised by Agathon Sundius in 1888, resembles Hirschfeld's explanation of the specific design of the spa.¹³⁴ The different publications deal with the subject to different extent and with different depth on how the design should be performed.

Christian Cay Lorentz Hirschfeld (1742–1792) had personal experience from spas and he describes many of them in *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (1777–85). Among the described spas is Bad Pyrmont, the spa often compared to Ronneby Spa when the high iron content of the well is commented upon in the source material¹³⁵. Hirschfeld's writings on the design of spas (in German: 'Gesundheitsbrunnen') are listed under the headline "Gardens whose characters are dependent on a certain ambiance". In that category he also describes public parks, gardens at monasteries, universities and hospitals. The writings on spas are detailed and several plants are listed that are suitable for that kind of environment.

When Hirschfeld's writings are compared to the descriptions of Ronneby Spa, they coincide with the ideas of the doctors as well as the ideas and planting plans of Flindt. For example you will find Hirschfeld's description on the shadowing trees necessary for the place around the well is also recommended by doctors at Ronneby Spa. As for the plantings, Hirschfeld recommends flowering shrubs largely close to the area of the well, which is also seen in Flindt's plans for Ronneby Spa.¹³⁶ Another connection between Flindt and Hirschfeld is that Rudolph Rothe (1802–1877), landscape gar-

¹³⁴ Hirschfeld's *Theory of Garden Art* and Agathon Sundius' presumed addition in Daniel Müller's *Trädgårdsskötsel* (1888) are discussed in Study 1, in Article I and in Article III. Müller's *Trädgårdsskötsel* was published in three editions, 1848, 1858 and 1888. The third and last edition published by Agathon Sundius after Müller's death, is the one containing information on the facilities "for pleasure and delectation", such as spas.

¹³⁵ For example in Hellman (1860).

¹³⁶ See also the descriptions of Hirschfeld's recommendation on the design for spas in Parshall (2001), p. 414f, in Article IV and in Study 1 (Jakobsson, 2000, p. 28f).

dener¹³⁷ and teacher/mentor to Flindt when he was practicing gardening at Fredensborg, was well acquainted with Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* and wrote about it in his own garden theory *Landskabsgartneriske betragtninger over Danmark*, 1853.¹³⁸

Hirschfeld's recommendations are seemingly based on the doctor's recommendations on how the spa visitors should be cured and entertained. The flowering shrubs Hirschfeld described as giving pleasure to weak hearts, is something a doctor could have suggested. Also, when describing hospital gardens, Hirschfeld wrote about the medical philosophy of the climate, with its elemental humours, as being an important factor for choosing the place to build a hospital¹³⁹. This implies he was influenced by the medical philosophy when he wrote the recommendations on how gardens at spas should be designed.

Humphry Repton (1752–1818) did not explain how spas should be designed¹⁴⁰, but he had personal experience as a spa visitor¹⁴¹ and the effect of the cure. In his *Memoirs*, written mainly during four years 1814–1818, he describes how his “nervous giddiness” was cured by a visit to Bath.¹⁴² He was however recommended by his doctor not to go to a place where he received too many impressions. The doctor believed Repton had become stressed due to being constantly exposed to different scenes and objects and would not recommend a visit to a spa because a spa offered too much variety. Repton was bored by this recommendation and went to Bath anyway, describing it as “the place of all others for those who have nothing to do, and for those who want to do nothing”. He thought the remedy was successful, not the least because he was able to spend time with his family at the same time.¹⁴³ Repton's descriptions of the doctors' opinion imply that the variation in the design mattered. Seemingly the combination of having things to do and to do nothing at the same time was good for you, though there seems to be a touch of irony in Repton's statement. He also argued that the social arena mediated by the spa was a benefit. This was also the case

¹³⁷ He called himself landscape gardener according to Salto Stephensen (2001).

¹³⁸ Salto Stephensen (2001), p. 123.

¹³⁹ Hirschfeld's ideas on the hospital garden are interpreted and described in *Restorative Gardens. The Healing Landscape*, by Gerlach-Spriggs, Kaufman and Warner (1998) on page 18.

¹⁴⁰ Neither in *Fragments on the theory and practice of landscape gardening* (1816), nor in *The Red Books*.

¹⁴¹ Stephen Daniels writes about Repton as a spa visitor in *Humphry Repton* (1999). In the chapter “The pathology of travel” on page 42 he refers to Repton's *Memoirs* as a source describing the spa visit.

¹⁴² *Humphry Repton's Memoirs* (2005), p. 73ff.

¹⁴³ *Humphry Repton's Memoirs* (2005), p. 73ff.

in Ronneby and probably had a great impact on the spa visitor's well-being, similar to the case of Humphry Repton. In the end of his life, writing *Fragments on the theory and practice of landscape gardening* (1816), Humphry Repton wrote that what he thought was important with gardens in general was the relief and solace they contributed with. Repton quoted a letter from a statesman describing Repton's taste in gardening: "[the garden] has a peculiar tendency to soothe, refine and improve the mind". He ended the book with the words "let us cultivate our gardens" arguing that gardens and gardening would lead to true happiness.¹⁴⁴

The Danish art's historian Lulu Salto Stephensen (2001) argues that Flindt was inspired by Repton's ideas¹⁴⁵. Whether Flindt had knowledge of Repton's visit to Bath and what his thoughts were on Repton's opinions on the spa remedy or gardens as mind relievers remain unclear. However, the property of variety, argued by Repton as an important factor of parks in general, is seen in Flindt's design for Ronneby Spa¹⁴⁶.

John Claudius Loudon (1783-1843) has a thorough description of public parks for recreation and exercise in *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* (version 4 1835 and version 9, 1860)¹⁴⁷. He does not include the spas in this category but chooses to describe them under the headline "Of gardens belonging to public companies" such as gardens of botanical societies, zoological societies and those belonging to proprietors of medicinal springs and baths.¹⁴⁸ Loudon asserted that public gardens of this kind were on the increase in England and he talks about the contents of a spa; the pump house, the walks, the seats and the varied scenery. He referred to the spa park in the same way as Hirschfeld and noted the varied design of scenery as an important character of a spa park.

All features described by Loudon were features needed for the cure, as described in, for example, the spa programme by the Swedish doctor Levertin (1883). Loudon's description of the included parts in the design can be interpreted as *water, walk, rest, view and variation*¹⁴⁹; the pump house being the water, the seats being the rest, the scenery being the view and the varied scenery being the variation. The case study of Ronneby Spa shows similar-

¹⁴⁴ *Fragments on the theory and practice of landscape gardening* (1816), p. 605f in the republication by John Claudius Loudon (1840).

¹⁴⁵ Salto Stephensen, (2001), p. 214f.

¹⁴⁶ Jakobsson, (2004a) and Article II (Jakobsson, 2005).

¹⁴⁷ These two editions of *Encyclopaedia of Gardening*, the 4th and the 9th, are the only editions used in this discussion. In further studies it would be interesting to see whether all editions of *Encyclopaedia of Gardening* included the same description of the spa.

¹⁴⁸ Loudon (1835), p. 338 and Loudon (1860), p. 265.

¹⁴⁹ Similar to Jakobsson (2004a) and Article III (Jakobsson, 2004b)

ties to Loudon's description of spas and thereby the case of Ronneby Spa is indeed an example of how a spa could look like and be experienced in the end of the 19th century.

When comparing the three garden theorists above, the writings by Hirschfeld are those standing out and being the most detailed on the design of spas in Europe. In Sweden, a similar contribution is made by Daniel Müller/Agathon Sundius in *Trädgårdsskötsel* (1888). The descriptions of the recommendations on the design of the spa in Hirschfeld (1779-85) and Müller/Sundius (1888) are discussed in the Licentiate thesis (Jakobsson, 2004a) in Article I, III and IV. Since Müller/Sundius *Trädgårdsskötsel* is of a later date than *Theorie der Gartenkunst* by Hirschfeld, it involves flower plantings to a greater extent in the descriptions of the spa.¹⁵⁰ But both Müller/Sundius and Hirschfeld followed the medical spa philosophy involving climate and orderly dry paths, hinting at the cure programme's propagation for walking. The basis of their writings are the same but one difference, probably dependant on the spirit of the time in the late 19th century, is that Müller/Sundius described the spa as a place for pleasure and for delectation (in Swedish: "nöje och vederkvickelse"),¹⁵¹ whereas Hirschfeld described the place as being comfortable and pleasant for walking. The pleasure contents of the spa are not that explicit in Hirschfeld's case. This change is also seen in the doctor's cure programmes from the early and mid 1700s and the late 1800s. Urban Hiärnes descriptions (1680 and 1708) were of a programme that was very controlled and regulated as was Carl Linneaus' (1761) even though he spoke about the importance of 'affect'. But later, from the 1860s and forward¹⁵², words such as mind, spirit and pleasure were frequently used in the spa programmes. Again, this change of attitude in both garden art and in programmes of spas implies interplay between garden design and medical spa philosophy.

Henry August Flindt and the medical spa philosophy

The cure programme for Ronneby Spa was written by doctors and the doctors were part of the board of the spa company who employed Henry August Flindt in 1873 to design the spa park. It is likely that after having read

¹⁵⁰ Extensive flower plantings became a fashion in the 1850s and forward, in the public parks of Europe (see Bucht (1997) and Nolin (1999)).

¹⁵¹ In page 92 of *Trädgårdsskötsel* (1888) the headline is: Places for pleasure and delectation (Anläggningar varmed åsyftas nöje och vederkvickelse). In the licentiate thesis (Jakobsson 2004a) the headline has mistakenly been written Places for health and delectation (Anläggningar för hälsa och vederkvickelse).

¹⁵² For example in Hellman's (1860) Söderwall's (1879) and Levertin's (1883) spa programmes.

the spa programme, Flindt made plans for the park fulfilling the needs of the cure. The plans were then carried out by the gardener Henrik Madelung in communication with Flindt and the spa board in Ronneby as described in Article II. As inspirational literature, Flindt is likely to have used Hirschfeld's *Theorie der Gartenkunst* and used his descriptions of the variety and the different use of plants as a leading light for his plans, as mentioned above. As a complement inspiration source he might have used newly published books, such as those by Rudolph Rothe (*Landskabsgartneriske betragtninger over Danmark*, 1853) or Daniel Müller (*Trädgårdsskötsel*, 1848, 1858 and 1888).

Flindt's first general plan for Ronneby Spa (see Article II) was not realised. The minutes of the board meetings state, however, that the board accepted the plan with certain changes.¹⁵³ Perhaps the board did not think it fulfilled the cure's requirements entirely. In the archives there are several planting plans showing the detailed sections of the park by Flindt dated 1875-1893¹⁵⁴, which differ from those showing the general idea in 1873. This implies that the design of Ronneby Spa was under continuous discussion and that the board had a lot to say in the matter of the overall design of the park.

Being a renowned landscape architect, the first with his own business in Denmark in 1853, Henry August Flindt was familiar with contemporary and older writings on garden design, such as those by Hirschfeld and Rothe. He had also made study trips to England and France, where he most likely studied the park ideals and the public park movement.¹⁵⁵ Flindt received his training at different manors in Denmark and he worked at nurseries in Denmark, in Germany and at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew.¹⁵⁶ His work took its point of departure from existing traditions within garden art and he was well acquainted with the latest plant material as stated in Article II.

Flindt did not design any other spa parks, but he did design parks for hospitals, such as the mental institution St. Lars in Lund and a coastal hospi-

¹⁵³ Central archives in Ronneby, Ronneby Spa's archives, AI:2 Protokoll (Minutes of board meetings) 1873-1879, July 14, 1873 about Flindt's proposal.

¹⁵⁴ Mainly in the Flindt archive in the Library at the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen (Kunstakademiets Bibliotek, samlingen af arkitekturtegninger), but also in Ronneby Council archives.

¹⁵⁵ As discussed in Article II (Jakobsson, 2005).

¹⁵⁶ Salto Stephensen (2001), p. 207-210. The training was for example at Rosenborg and Fredensborg Royal Castles, where Flindt was under gardener to Rudolph Rothe (1802-1877), who was a famous Danish Landscape Gardener.

tal in Denmark.¹⁵⁷ The plans for these establishments have a few similarities to the plans he made for Ronneby Spa. The main idea still seems to be focus on movement, with winding paths and meeting points. Another similarity between the plans is the richness in flower plantings close to entrances of important buildings. The richness in flower plantings is not significant for spas only, but was a part of the garden and park ideals at that time¹⁵⁸.

Flindt was hired to design several parks with walking as main function. The preconception of recreation (walking) in nature as being good for you was part of the spirit of the time¹⁵⁹. Walking had also been part of garden art during the early 19th century and in the Royal gardens in Denmark where Flindt practised as a young gardener. Flindt's designs of the walks for the park in Ronneby were thus a continuation of a tradition of designing parks for walking. Flindt did not have to adjust his taste in garden design that much to suit the purpose of the spa and the objectives of the doctors.

¹⁵⁷ "S:t Lars" and "Kysthospitalet" are listed in the Flindt Archives in the library at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts, Copenhagen.

¹⁵⁸ Nolin (1999), p. 112f.

¹⁵⁹ As argued by Frykman och Löfgren in *Culture Builders. A Historical Anthropology of Middle-Class life* (1996 [1987]).

2. Walking the spa landscape

The walking at spas in the late 19th century – an act of both necessity and choice

I have two doctors, my left leg and my right. When body and mind are out of gear (and those twin parts of me live at such close quarters that the one always catches the melancholy from the other) I know that I shall have only to call in my doctors and I shall be well again.

From George Macaulay Trevelyan's *Walking* (1913), quoted by Rebecca Solnit in *Wanderlust* (2002), p. 121

The English historian G. M. Trevelyan (1876–1962) was not alone in believing that walking had the power of healing, sometimes both body and mind. The Swedish doctors Urban Hiärne (1708) and Carl Linnaeus (1761) prescribed walking, or moderate movement, for spa visitors and a certain affect, such as light entertainment, to heal the body. Later Olof Hellman (1860), Emil Söderwall (1879) and Alfred Levertin (1883 and 1892) recommended movement as well as moderate mental agitation, an evoking of feelings, as part of the treatment of both body and mind. This change in the doctor's prescriptions from the healing of the body to the healing of both body and mind correlates to the change in the meaning and ways of walking from the enlightenment to the romantic period. According to Joseph Amato (2004), the purpose of walking was more an act of necessity up until the late 18th century and the ways of walking were orderly and plain, in a certain pattern even in landscape gardens. He also states that during the late 18th century, approximately, and forward the walking action was more of choice, random and including more emotional and sensory issues.¹⁶⁰

As described in Article I, Article III and Article IV, the walking action was mandatory at Ronneby Spa, equal to all spas in Sweden in the end of the 19th century.¹⁶¹ Thereby the walking at the spa differed from the walking act in for example cities at that time. It was fashionable to walk in cities in general in the end of the 19th century. The word 'park' was not used at that time in Sweden, and the areas called parks today were more commonly

¹⁶⁰ As described by Joseph A. Amato in *On Foot. A History of Walking* (2004), p.3, p. 16f and p.102. The description of the change from an act of necessity to an act of choice is a somewhat categorical way of describing the different meanings of walking from the early 18th to the late 18th century. It depends on which country you are talking about, and which class in society is in question. But it reveals interplay nevertheless, between the change in medical philosophy and the change in the ways of walking.

¹⁶¹ As presented by Levertin (1883).

known as ‘promenades’, i. e. places for walking¹⁶². This fashion of walking in the garden was developed in Royal private gardens in the 1620s’ Paris and reached a zenith during the reign of Louis XIV during the 1660s, not the least in Versailles. In the 18th century the fashion spread to the public: “Thus promenades became for a growing group of mundane persons, *les mondains*, an exercise in the aesthetics of civility”.¹⁶³ The act of walking mediated social contacts and displayed a certain social standing in the cities. As argued by Joseph Amato in *On Foot* (2004), walking had become the upper-class select activity rather than a lower-class necessity.¹⁶⁴ At the spa in the end of the 19th century the act of walking developed a unique combination of both being a social act of choice and an act of necessity at the same time. It was an act of necessity out of the cure programme, and a social act of choice for those patients/visitors who came to Ronneby Spa without being sick, with the intention to socialise, relax and enjoy nature.

Studying the act of walking facilitates understanding of landscape, space and place

At Ronneby Spa, the act of walking was a prerequisite for the spa design and therefore the walk can be used as means to analyse the landscape. Studying walking has mediated my understanding of the spa landscape and of the studied case Ronneby Spa during the research process. The place-making properties, as well as the space creation properties of the walking are discussed in Article I and III based on the analysis of Yi-Fu Tuan (1974) and Edward Casey (1996).¹⁶⁵ Walking action as a key of analysing landscape has also been the subject of investigation in different research projects recently, for example in “Culture from the ground: walking, movement and place-making” 2004–2006 at the Department of Anthropology at the University of Aberdeen¹⁶⁶. The project has primarily investigated cultural aspects of walking through a study of the ways people walk in everyday life, and thus is not similar to the mandatory walking action in Ronneby. However the motives

¹⁶² As Catharina Nolin (1999) describes, the public parks of the late 19th century were often called promenades (in Swedish: Promenader/promenadplatser).

¹⁶³ Conan (2007b), p. 44.

¹⁶⁴ Amato (2004), p. 102.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Space and place: humanistic perspective’, by Yi-Fu Tuan in *Progress in Geography*, nr 6/1974, pp. 211–252 and ‘How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short Stretch of Time’, by Edward Casey in: *Senses of Place*, Edited by Keith Basso and Steven Feld, Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1996, pp. 13–52.

¹⁶⁶ In this project Professor Tim Ingold was the Principal Investigator and Dr Jo Lee Vergunst Research Fellow.

and principal arguments for the project can be used as a starting point for arguing the importance of studying the place making properties of the act of walking in parks and gardens in general, not only the spa landscape; The main motive to use the walk as a way of analysing our relationship with the surroundings is that in walking the past, the present and the future are linked, generating a distinct relationship with the surroundings as we move about.¹⁶⁷ The steps we leave behind are history and the steps we are going to take lie in the future. The location where we are in each particular moment is in the present.

A feeling for space and its qualities require that we move around in space. Together with seeing and touching, the kinaesthesia (sense of muscle movement) is the most important sense when it comes to knowledge of the space around us¹⁶⁸. A feeling of 'place', a space with meaning, is then generated by knowledge of the space¹⁶⁹. Walking around, touching, seeing and thereby getting to know the space gives the space meaning, thereby creating a 'place'. The act of walking can thereby be said to have place-making properties.

Other 'place-makers' which mediate understanding of the space are, for example, the history connected to a certain area or landscape, shared memories, vegetation type, landscape character and dwellings, all of which are properties of knowledge of a certain space. Interestingly enough it seems that one place-making property does not seem to be enough to make the place (garden) in question a 'place' per se. It seems that a combination of properties makes a 'good place', a space with meaning.

Article IV addresses the doctor's way of establishing a 'moderate mental agitation'. This moderate agitation seemed to occur when combining new, modern design with different 'place-making properties' and making them more obvious to the spa visitor. Those 'place-making properties', summarised in brochures and spa programmes were; the walking action and the arguments for its importance in brochures and by doctors, the thoroughly explained history of the area, the recommended yearly revisits to the spa, the shared routines and rituals of the water cure and the different explained

¹⁶⁷ The motifs to the project at the University of Aberdeen are presented in *Culture from the ground: walking, movement and placemaking*, project presentation online at: <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/anthropology/walking.php>, accessed 2009-01-04.

¹⁶⁸ Tuan (2007 [1977]), p. 12. Kinaesthesia (sense of muscle position and movement) sight and touch are the senses described by Tuan as senses enabling humans to have a strong feeling for space and its qualities. Kinaesthesia is not described as a sense of its own in this thesis, but is described as the tactile sense.

¹⁶⁹ Tuan (2007 [1977]), p. 32.

characters of the park area. It was interesting enough to be agitating, but it was routine enough to be moderate.

Anne Whiston Spirn (1998) argues that activity, such as walking, creates basic spaces, so called ‘performance spaces’, in human environment. However “there is a complex interplay between processes and the territories they engender”¹⁷⁰. A path is generated by activity and is thereby a basic space, but could have different meaning such as survival (cow’s path), social meaning (park promenade) or spiritual meaning (pilgrimage route). The place in which the moving takes place receives meaning through the type of activity that takes place in its basic spaces. The study of the walking activity and why the walking is performed is argued by Anne Whiston Spirn to be a clue on reading the language of that particular landscape correctly. Depending on the reason for moving, the experienced landscape has different meanings. In the case of Ronneby Spa the meaning of moving around and the basic spaces of that spa environment were created by a combination of the walking by choice (the social act) and the walking of necessity and survival (the doctor’s prescription).

The anthropologist Tim Ingold argues that “A more grounded approach to human movement [...] opens up new terrain in the study of environmental perceptions [...]”¹⁷¹. His arguments together with the definition of landscape in the European Landscape Convention¹⁷², support the idea of studying walking as a facilitator for the understanding of landscape and how landscape is perceived and experienced by people. Walking also facilitates the understanding of the process of the shaping of landscape, since the walking action is a human factor that has a potential of changing landscape physically while also affecting the human experience of landscape, space and place.

Ways of walking and how walking affects the landscape experience

By walking we can experience the world around us with our whole body¹⁷³; by walking we feel and think and show others how we feel and think, by the pace and by our body language. Thinking and feeling could also be a way of walking¹⁷⁴. Indeed, when I think about, and imagine, Ronneby Spa

¹⁷⁰ Spirn (1998), p. 121.

¹⁷¹ Ingold (2004). p. 315.

¹⁷² “Landscape is an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors” (Article 1a in the *European Landscape Convention*, online [2009-01-04]).

¹⁷³ With “can” experience I mean that all people do not experience the world through the act of walking because of handicaps for example.

¹⁷⁴ In the ‘Introduction’ to *Ways of Walking. Ethnography and Practice on Foot* (2008), p. 2.

it includes walking. The mere thinking act can constitute an imaginary way of walking. The act of walking at Ronneby Spa was, in the end of the 19th century, a way of showing a belonging and a similar way of thinking by taking part in the cure. Walking during the cure at the spa was something the spa visitors had in common. The act of being there, walking and taking the waters, displayed a certain social awareness as it was considered fashionable to be there. As explained in Article I, III and IV the visitors walked and took the waters at different times during the morning, due to division into different categories/classes depending on how much you could afford to pay as entrance fee. This gives the walking action a property of showing social status at the spa, apart from outer appearance such as clothes or posture.

Another way to show your social status through the walking action was by walking in the Swedish Alps. Doing so, you showed that you belonged to the “up and coming” bourgeoisie¹⁷⁵. At Ronneby Spa the walking uphill, performed by all Spa visitors, thereby had a certain meaning apart from the exercise recommended by doctors.

The way in which the spa visitors walked in general was not fast but relatively slow compared to how we usually walk today in order to stay fit. The way of walking at spas was more like sauntering, except for the short period when taking the waters when the pace of walking was more march-like to the rhythm of a brass band. The walking pace in the afternoons, when the walking was optional, I know less about, but the dress code for women saying that the whole body should be covered even in summertime, suggests that the pace was moderate in order not to sweat too much. Sweating a lot was considered bad according to the doctor’s recommendations¹⁷⁶.

Yi-Fu Tuan suggests that getting to know a place through moving in space is like learning a maze¹⁷⁷. When learning the maze of landscape we identify more and more landmarks and become familiar with it. Reconnecting to landmarks in the maze is “almost an emotional experience” and the “subject [for example the spa visitor (my remark)] will often express satisfaction”.¹⁷⁸ The moderate pace of walking, with no other goal than better health and to pass time, suggests that the spa visitors would get to know the landscape very well eventually. After having been there for a while as the cure suggested, a good feeling for the place must therefore have been developed and presumably also a feeling of well-being, getting to know the

¹⁷⁵ Frykman and Löfgren (1979), p. 54ff.

¹⁷⁶ For example Söderwall (1879) and Levertin (1883).

¹⁷⁷ Tuan (2007 [1977]), p. 70f.

¹⁷⁸ Tuan (2007 [1977]), p. 72.

whole spa, as Tuan suggests¹⁷⁹. However, there was a certain boredom experienced at Spas explained in Article I, III and below, which could not have been beneficial for well-being at all. But taking the walks in memory, back home again could have retrieved that feeling of well-being once more.

The role of movement in garden design and in the analysis of it

Walking or movement was essential to garden creation and garden experience according to Christian Cay Lorentz Hirschfeld, who was setting the tone for the design of spas in *Theorie der Gartenkunst* (1779–1785). These essentials made him criticise the comparisons between landscape painting and landscape design as equal experiences of landscape and nature. He thought that gardens should imitate nature and stir emotions, emotions brought about while moving. He argued that the landscape experience we receive from a painting is an imitation of nature, but as we receive it standing still the experience from a painting is not the same as the experience from a garden.¹⁸⁰ Movement, landscape experience and garden design should be considered as an entity for gardens designed during the 19th century with an inspiration from Hirschfeld. The spa is such a garden. The role of movement in the public park, also described by Hirschfeld had the same prerequisites. Apart from describing the importance of movement, Hirschfeld connects the emotional ‘stirring’, or agitation, with the walk around the designed landscape. Thereby he presents interplay between garden design, movement and stirring of emotions (i.e. sensory experience).

Movement has been used to analyse architectural experience since the 1950s, by for example Kevin Lynch and Gordon Cullen and their followers.¹⁸¹ But in general there is much “silence with respect to the experience of motion in books on garden and landscape design”¹⁸². The experience of architectural space and the development of methods of analysis of that experience were presented by Kevin Lynch in the article ‘A walk around the block’ in 1959¹⁸³. He instructed a group of people to walk around a block in

¹⁷⁹ Tuan (1990 [1974]), p. 98f. Tuan suggests that the feeling of well-being depends more on the internal state of the subject than on the external circumstances. A feeling of safety, as when we have gotten to know a space by walking in it day in and day out, is a prerequisite for well-being.

¹⁸⁰ Conan (2003), p. 13.

¹⁸¹ There are other analysis methods including movement, for example interviewing while walking (in Swedish: ‘gäturer’), based on Kevin Lynch’s ‘walk around the block’.

¹⁸² Conan (2003), p. 1.

¹⁸³ The article was first published in *Landscape* 8 (3) 1959 and later in *City sense and City Design: Writings and projects of Kevin Lynch* (1990).

the city, reporting what they saw, heard and smelled as well as everything else they noticed specifically. Afterward they were presented with a number of pictures from the block and they were told to describe what they remembered. Through this reporting he argued that this method of analysis, using the walk as a method of analysis, was a way of gathering information about the mental image of the block.¹⁸⁴ The movement was a prerequisite for the mental image according to Lynch, as well as the variety of sensory input. It was perhaps not his intention, but he connected sensory experience with movement and a certain design, touching upon the interplay between those factors when experiencing architecture and/or landscape.

In *The Concise Townscape* by Gordon Cullen (1966) movement is used to explain and analyse spatial experience during a walk in the city landscape. His 'serial vision'-pictures, snap shot sketches of different spaces along a walk are presented together with a certain vocabulary to describe the feeling of the spaces. That, he thought, would mediate the spatial experience while walking¹⁸⁵. His intentions, when using the vocabulary to describe the pictures, were to involve senses in the analysis of design, but the 'serial vision analysis' has mostly been used in a visual context, showing what it looks, or would look like.

The role of movement in medical philosophy

The walking action has been important within medical philosophy before the heydays of spas in the 19th century. Hippocrates (ca 460 BC–370 BC) was a central figure in this aspect. His oath of medical ethical practice must be sworn by every newly examined physician today and his arguments in *On Airs, Waters and Places* (ca 400 BC) were crucial for the medical spa philosophy's ideas on the elements of nature being important for balancing bodily humours. Hippocrates used to prescribe patients to walk before surgical operation to calm them down. He believed that the action of walking in combination with discussion on philosophy and the experience of nature calmed the patients and thereby prepared them for surgery. The walking should take place in a forest and the walking, discussion and experiencing of nature was a method to give the patients faith, a faith that they could be healed at this place. The faith was believed to be one of the crucial factors for recovery.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁴ Lynch (1990 [1959]), p. 185–205.

¹⁸⁵ Cullen (1995 [1966]), the method of serial vision and the vocabulary to describe the feeling of the space described in the 'serial vision images' are described on pages 17–97.

¹⁸⁶ Christos Gallis, researcher on Hippocrates at the Forest Research Institute, Thessaloniki, Greece, e-mail correspondence in January and February 2009. The faith Hippocrates de-

Concerning the medical spa philosophy, there was a difference in the arguments on the importance of walking by doctors during the enlightenment and the arguments during the 19th century. During the enlightenment the words “order”, “necessity” and “for the sake of the body” were important arguments for both Urban Hiärne and Carl Linnaeus as described in Article I, III and IV. In the 19th century the words in the cure programmes by for example Alfred Levertin were “freedom of choice”, “deliberately random” and “for the freedom of mind”¹⁸⁷.

The spa physician Urban Hiärne was inspired by Hippocrates as explained in Article IV, and on his behalf movement outdoors was a self-evident part of medical treatment. An interesting publication on the subject of movement as part of medical treatment is a book by Dr Wilhelm Bergsten about *Helsobringande Sommarlif* (in English: Healthy Summer Life) in 1877. In it he stated that there were three kinds of healthy summer lives; the still, the moving and the medical summer life. The ‘still’ summer life should take place in the countryside in the open air, and with moderate movement.¹⁸⁸ Despite naming it ‘still’ summer life, it should include movement. The ‘moving’ summer life was best performed in the forest or in the mountains, ensuring a lot of movement¹⁸⁹. Finally, the medical summer life should take place in the spa resorts. This meant either still or moving summer life.¹⁹⁰ The movement was considered self evident for the treatment of patients at all times.

A moderate movement in the ‘open air’ (in Swedish: “fria luften”) or working in the gardens could be part of the treatment at spas in Germany as well¹⁹¹ and even today, the Germans can be recommended by their physicians to recreate themselves at a spa, walking in the park and take part in different treatments, sponsored by the German social insurance office.¹⁹² Since a few years, the Swedish social insurance office and the regional authorities has had a contract with the Rehabilitation Garden at Alnarp, Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (SLU), to submit patients with burnout-diseases and signs of depression to work and walk around in the garden as part of their rehabilitation. The patients at the same time take part in different re-

scribed would today perhaps be described as placebo-effect, where the mere faith in the treatment in fact can improve your health [my remark].

¹⁸⁷ Levertin (1883 and 1892) and several tourist brochures from Ronneby Spa state this.

¹⁸⁸ Bergsten (1877), p. 4.

¹⁸⁹ Bergsten (1877), p. 9.

¹⁹⁰ Bergsten (1877), p.18.

¹⁹¹ In for example *Vattenläkaren* (the Water physician) by Carl Munde (1842).

¹⁹² Maretzki (1989).

search projects concerning environmental psychology and rehabilitation through gardening.

Some results of the research are that garden therapy increases the patients' likeliness to go back to work after a long term illness if they take part in the activities of the rehabilitation garden compared to if they would not have worked in, or been in, a garden at all.¹⁹³ There are also indications that gardens are perceived as restorative even though they are a mixture between built and natural environment.¹⁹⁴

Today it is possible (again) for registered physicians in Sweden to prescribe exercise and recreation, called FaR (Recipe for Physical Activity), as a complement, or as an alternative, to taking medicine.¹⁹⁵ The Swedish National Institute of Public Health has worked with this since 2001 and has a governmental commission 2008–2010 to spread the notion on FaR and the written document of possible physical activities for certain illnesses, called FYSS. The Swedish National Institute of Public Health argue that physical activity is a protective factor for the prevention and treatment of diseases such as cardiovascular disease, obesity, mental illness and cancer.¹⁹⁶ Seemingly, the statements of doctors in the end of the late 19th century now have a small renaissance. The walking action has proven important for medical, physiological and psychological health.

How the mandatory movement affected the design and experience of spas

The design and spatial structure of Ronneby Spa followed the pattern of movement (see Figure 8a och 8b) as described in the licentiate thesis and Article III. The park can be divided in different areas or park spaces that were used during different parts of the cure and daily routine; (A) the park area close to the well, (B) the promenade park and (C) the forest. The movement was based on the cure programme, prescribed by physicians with a medical philosophy to follow as described in Article IV.

¹⁹³ Grahns, Patrik, personal communication November 2008 and article in *Dagens Nyheter* 2009-06-22.

¹⁹⁴ Tenngart och Hägerhäll (2008), Abstract.

¹⁹⁵ Swedish National Institute of Public Health, On prescribed physical activity, online <http://www.fhi.se/sv/FaR-/Om-FYSSFaR/Fysisk-aktivitet-pa-recept/>, accessed 2009-07-06.

¹⁹⁶ Swedish National Institute of Public Health, On physical activity and the public health policy, online, <http://www.fhi.se/en/About-FHI/Public-health-policy/9-Physical-activity/>, accessed 2009-07-06.

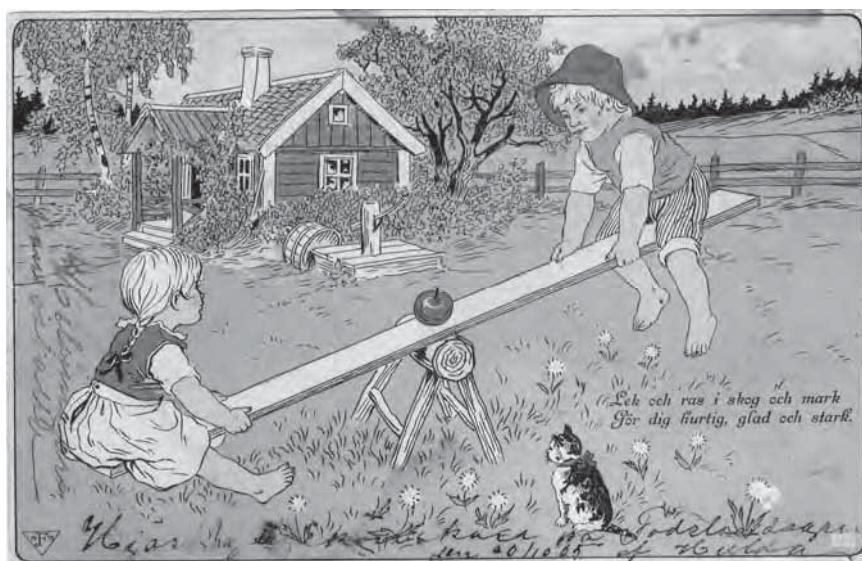


Figure 7. Two children are playing with a seesaw in the garden in a Swedish postcard from the early 20th century. The written words conclude that playing and moving about outdoors is good for you: "Lek och ras i skog och mark gör dig hurtig, glad och stark" / "Playing and rampaging in the woods and in the land makes you hearty, happy and strong" (Private collection, Anna Jakobsson)

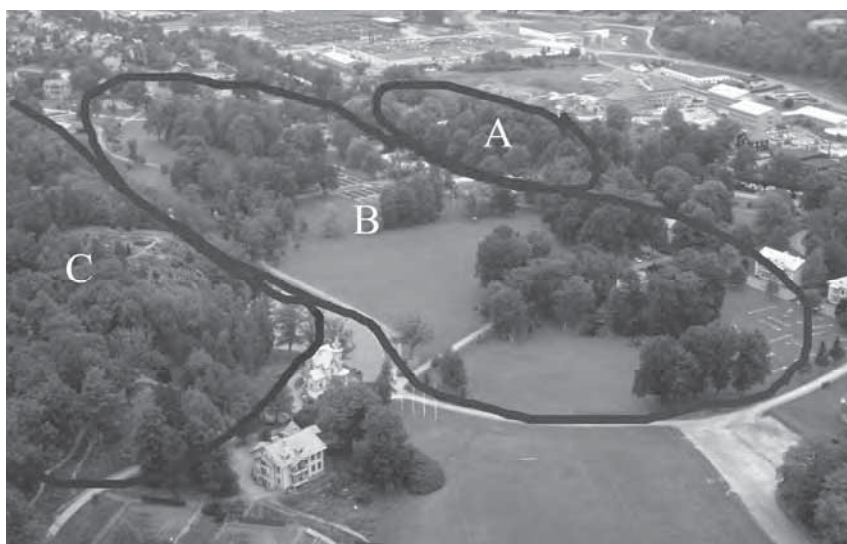


Figure 8a. The three characters in the spa landscape; A, B and C, experienced by the spa visitor at Ronneby Spa in end of the 19th century and today (Illustration by author in an aerial photo by Jan Normman, early 1990s, RAÄ Kulturmiljöbild)

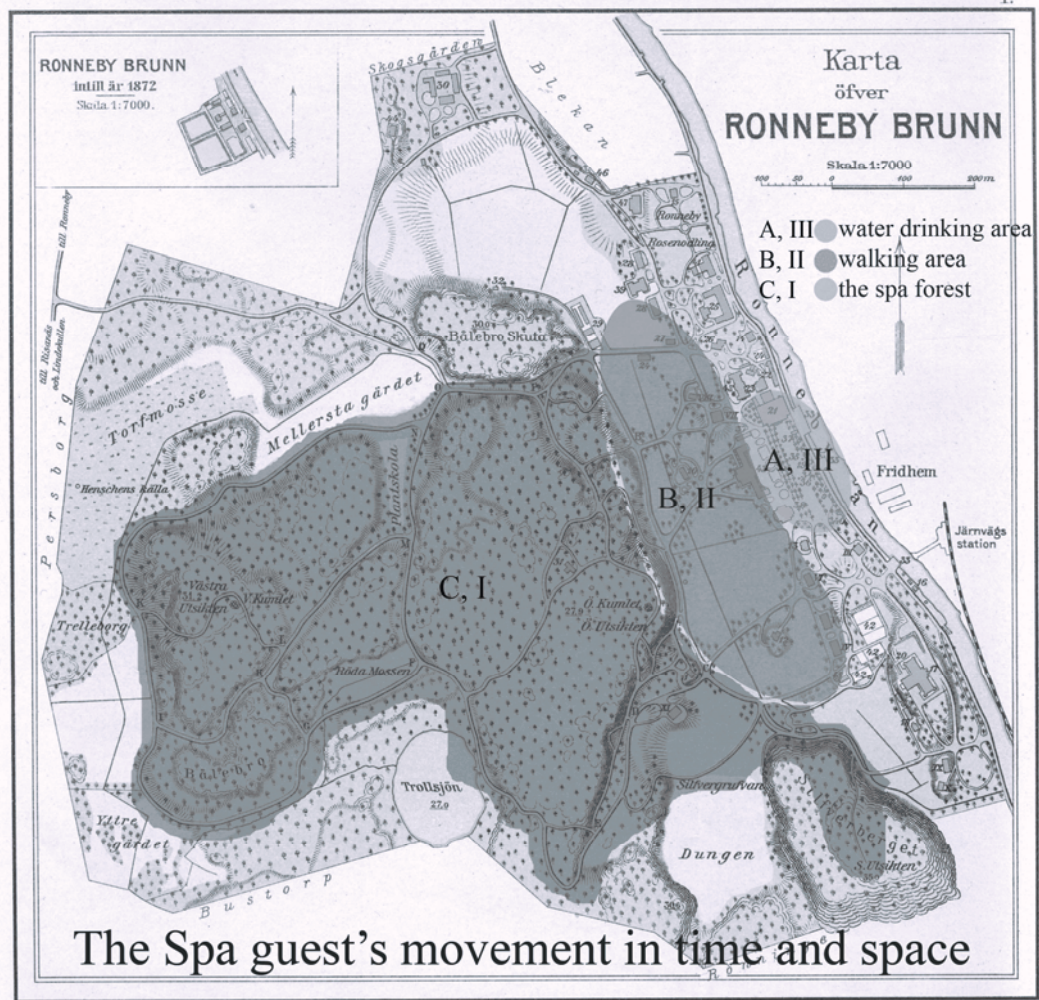


Figure 8b. The illustration shows a summary of the spa visitor's movement in time and space. During the cure, different areas A, B and C (my naming) were used for walking in alphabetical order shown in the illustration. The design of the different areas was more and more similar to nature, the further away from the well the spa visitor moved and could be divided in three different characters which coincide with John Dixon Hunt's definitions; the formal walking area close to the well (III), the walking area with 'exotic' plantings (II) and the forest with domestic trees and shrubs and with a more challenging topography (I). The well is situated in the far east of the park, in area A. (The illustration and naming of areas are made by the author, based on the tourist map of Ronneby Spa in Ingstad, 1905).

The numbering of the areas A, B and C, in Figure 8a and 8b, follows the order of bodily experience of the spa visitor, similar to Yi-Fu Tuan's description of a human's way of getting to know space around him or her. When interpreting John Dixon Hunt's text on "The three Natures"¹⁹⁷, and translating it to the designed landscape of Ronneby Spa, area A would represent the 3rd nature (III in Figure 8b), which is the most affected by humans, very formal in its appearance. Area B would represent the 2nd nature, which also includes visual contact with the farming areas of the gardener at Ronneby Spa. Area C would represent the 1st nature, the most natural and untouched. The spa visitor 'travelled' in a way from different characters of 'nature' during the course of treatment.

The analysis in Figure 8 confirms both Tuan's and Hunt's perspectives, showing both the order of the spa visitor's experience of space through time and the different aspects of human's way of designing nature in three different characters. Both Hunt and Tuan describe human's way of organising the world. But Hunt never talks in the perspective of landscape experience, only landscape design, even though the design is meant to be experienced. Therefore the definitions used by Tuan would comport better with the study and analysis of experiencing landscape while walking at Ronneby Spa. However, it is interesting to note that a design of the Spa in different characters, similar to gardens throughout history as shown by Hunt was chosen by Flindt and the doctors. Seemingly, the design in different characters interplayed with the walking routines of the cure and the doctors' intentions for the patients.

The daily routine of the cure could in some ways be experienced as boring, explained by spa visitors in Article III. The need for variation was evident and as discussed in the licentiate thesis, the board of the spa encouraged the spa visitors to join field trips in order to vary their spa experience a bit more. It is not expressed clearly, but this variation was probably a part of the design discussion as well, when the spa grounds were laid out in the 1870s.

The mandatory movement contributed to a place making, giving the space meaning. This meaningfulness was obtained both through the created narrative of the spa landscape while moving and through the 'time-space

¹⁹⁷ Hunts definitions of the three Natures in *Greater Perfections* (2000) are based on man's way of designing landscape through history in three distinguishable "Natures". Simplified he defines that the 1st nature as the least affected by man and the most 'natural' landscape, the 2nd nature is the agricultural landscape and the 3rd nature is the garden, which represents human intervention that goes beyond what is required by necessity; the most human-affected nature. Hunt (2000), pp. 51-70.

routine' and 'body ballet'¹⁹⁸ of which the cure consisted. An interaction of time-space routines and body ballets rooted in space create a 'place ballet', which ground stones are continual human activity and temporal continuity¹⁹⁹. Daily 'time-space routines' become unaware after a while, as shown by David Seamon (1979). As Seamon also describes, the unawareness in the routine frees our conscious attention for other things. This may have had a positive effect for the spa visitor's experience of landscape. The focus could shift from the routine of the cure to for example the story of the landscape and mediate a deepened landscape experience. On the other hand, when the routine of the body ballet was interrupted for some reason it could have been a source for stress²⁰⁰. Thus, the case study of Ronneby Spa can be used in describing the creating of 'place' and in the study of the consequences of 'time-space routine' on space and place-making.

How the design of spas affected the movement of the spa visitor

A rhythm can be experienced by the brain unconsciously as presented in Article IV.²⁰¹ Easy rhythms, the ones you know beforehand for example, consume less energy for the brain. The preconception of the movement and of the rhythm of the time scheduled cure can therefore have been a facilitator of the healing processes, consuming less energy than a very new experience.

The avenue of the spa, being planted with trees in certain intervals in a rhythmical pattern, triggered movement of the spa visitors' bodies. Therefore the rhythmical avenue was an important part of the spa design and for the positive outcome of the treatment. It was not only giving shade to the spa visitors/patients while walking back and forth but also activating movement which was necessary for the cure.

Other rhythmical repeating designs in the different park areas at Ronneby Spa could have had the same effect on the spa visitors' movement, for example the repeated flowerbeds close to important buildings and the repeated groups of trees close to every cross roads in the park.²⁰² The doctors

¹⁹⁸ The expressions 'time-space routine', 'body ballet' and 'place ballet' are from David Seamon's *A Geography of the Lifeworld. Movement, Rest and Encounter* (1979), p. 56. With a time-space routine he means unaware, repeated activities through time and space, as in every day life in different rooms of the house or flat for example. The body ballet is the choreography of the movements

¹⁹⁹ Seamon (1979), p. 56.

²⁰⁰ Seamon (1979), p. 56.

²⁰¹ In Article IV I am quoting articles by Bengtsson et al (2008) and Wittman et al (2007).

²⁰² See for example plans by Flindt in Article II (Jakobsson, 2005).

or Henry August Flindt could not have known this, since it is results of new research of the 21st century, but the coincidence is worth noticing.

The walking at Ronneby Spa was time scheduled in morning, late morning and afternoon and during these three parts of the day the patients walked in different parts of the park, also explained in Article I and under the chapters “Designing the spa landscape” and “Sensing the spa landscape”. The different parts of the park had a purpose during the cure and therefore the pace of walking was slightly different in the different parts. Close to the well a brass band played marching music to set the rhythm of the walk and water drinking. Further away from the well, where the visitors walked after taking the waters, the sauntering pace was more appropriate to use, allowing the visitors to socialise and exercise at the same time. In the forest, the third walk of the daily schedule, the topography made the visitors walk with a higher constraint.

Apart from the different efforts and pace when walking, the design of these areas differed in being more and more similar to ‘nature’ as described in Article III and IV. The more similar to nature, the less complex was the design and the less complex the rhythm of the design. The highest complexity would be the parts where the different designs met in the transitions between the different areas of the park. Knowing that the brain awards itself for seeking new environments²⁰³, as described in Article IV, widens the perspective on the spa’s design for the improvement of health. The different ways of walking, recommended by doctors and the variation in the design and complexity affected the brains of the spa patients in a positive way, rewarding them physiologically for their boldness in finding new paths and their courage to walk deeper into the forest and higher up hill.

²⁰³ Wittman et. al. (2007).

3. Sensing the spa landscape

Senses in research

In the 1980s anthropologists started treating cultures as ways of sensing the world rather than relying on language-based models of analysis.²⁰⁴ The anthropologist David Howes (2003) wants to reclaim sensation as a fundamental domain of social theory in general, arguing that there is a relationship between sensory experience and cultural expression. He notes that during the last decades there has been a florescence of theoretically engaged work on the senses in various disciplines from history, philosophy, geography and sociology to law, medicine, literature and art criticism.²⁰⁵ The discipline that has done most to promote and theorise the approach to sensory experience are anthropologists, according to David Howes. The anthropological investigations has pointed out that sensory experience may be structured and given meaning in different ways across cultures. David Howes also states that even though research on senses has increased, the dominant sense investigated is still sight. He wants the academic world to break free from the spell of the specular.

The historian is even more a prisoner of words than the anthropologist, says the historian Alain Corbin (2005) and the challenge for the historian if he or she wants to study senses is to dare look beyond the spoken towards the unspoken and to identify what is not said or written about. “The historian needs to know the banal is frequently silent”²⁰⁶, that the things common or forbidden to us are often not mentioned or that a new sensation which is unknown to us is not easily put into words. Thereby it is not easy to find sensory experience in the written source material. Corbin exemplifies this with the interdict in the 19th century that weighed on smells, taste and the sensual pleasures of the body often leads to an overestimation of other senses such as the visual sense, in the historical analysis of that time.²⁰⁷ That is probably one of the reasons why there are no detailed sensory descriptions in the written sources on Ronneby Spa. This is where the quest to find the sensory experience of Ronneby Spa in the late 19th century begins.

²⁰⁴ Howes (2003), p. 29.

²⁰⁵ Howes (2003), p. XII.

²⁰⁶ Corbin (2005), p. 135.

²⁰⁷ Corbin (2005), p. 136.

Sensory experience as part of the garden design in the late 19th century

The roles of emotion and motion are key concepts in Hirschfeld's definition of good garden design according to Linda Parshall's interpretation of Hirschfeld's *Theory of Garden Art*²⁰⁸, meaning that sensory experience as well as movement should be involved in garden design in general. This was not as evident in writings of Humphry Repton, said to be one of Flindt's sources of inspiration²⁰⁹ but the tone setting writings for the spas in general were those of Hirschfeld as discussed in Article I and article IV²¹⁰.

Sensory experience as part of the cure programme and the design of spas

Nothing can cure the soul but the senses, just as nothing can cure the senses but the soul.

From 'The Picture of Dorian Gray' by Oscar Wilde 1891, reprinted in *The Complete Works of Oscar Wilde*, vol 3, 2005, p. 185.

Just as the quote by Oscar Wilde implies, the doctors at the Swedish spas seem to have believed that the whole body and soul cannot be cured unless a variation of sensory impressions were involved in the process as argued in Article IV. A variation of sensory input was part of the cure and of the design of the spa. Article IV discussed the doctors' recommendation on a certain 'moderate mental agitation' for the cure to have desired effect.²¹¹ This postulates that the design had to evoke some kind of feelings or emotional response, but in a moderate way. Moderate is analogue to the Swedish word 'lagom', used in the Swedish cure programmes. Too much of something was considered bad and affecting the balance of the four humours and the bodily fluids negatively.²¹² The sensory experience had to interplay with the design, which in turn interplayed with medical spa philosophy.

When treating the visitors at the spa, even the very healthy ones, the doctors prescribed movement in the open air, work, pleasure and rest in varied amounts.²¹³ To experience the environment as pleasing, it had to have certain qualities associated with emotions and pleasurable sensation.²¹⁴ The

²⁰⁸ Parshall (2003), p. 39.

²⁰⁹ Salto Stephensen (1999), p. 204-243.

²¹⁰ See also Jakobsson (2004a).

²¹¹ Levertin (1883), for example

²¹² Mentioned by for example Hjärne (1708) and Hellman (1860), and discussed in Article IV.

²¹³ Munde (1842), p. 44.

²¹⁴ Carlson (2000), p. 143.

environment did not only have to be varied, in order to contain places for rest, movement and pleasure but it also had to vary in sensory experience, as in emotion, since emotional qualities were essential for the experience of pleasure.

Clarifying the sensory experience at the spa through inhabitation of a spa visitor

To clarify when and how the different senses were involved in the spa design and in the cure at Ronneby Spa I have chosen to inhabit an imagined spa visitor during a stay at the spa and to illustrate the sensory input with words and images, below. Since it is not possible to undergo and describe the exact experience of a spa visitor at Ronneby Spa, because the spa activities in Ronneby ceased in the 1930s, the illustration of the sensory experience is made through an *imaginary weave* of the empirical material found in archives, medical spa history, garden history and history of ideas combined with my own experience of the landscape today. Through the illustration the reader can undergo an experience, as it might have been in the end of the 19th century.

The interpretation and perception of the sensory input could differ whether the spa visitor came from a well educated, wealthy family from the city or from a farmer's background. Therefore I choose to give the spa visitor a background story, so that the reading of it gives a certain depth, interpretation wise. But I want to point out that the purpose of the inhabitation is only to clarify the multi sensory experience of the landscape of Ronneby Spa and to show an example of how the *imaginary weave* could be presented and not to tell the 'true' story of how it was experienced.

I have chosen to inhabit a woman, since many of the spa visitors were women per se²¹⁵. In my imagination she can be seen in a picture from 1877 and in several photographs from the late 19th century. She is of a well-to-do, but not extremely rich family, maybe from one of Sweden's larger cities at the time. She is also well educated, familiar with historic as well as recent literature, etiquette, social behaviour and dress code. She is, as most of the visitors at spas in the end of the 19th century, bourgeoisie²¹⁶. In my mind she is about 20 years of age, unmarried with no children. She has travelled to Ronneby together with her mother and younger brother. The year is 1899 when the big Spa Hotel and the Halls at Ronneby Spa just has been built and most of the plantings have reached a certain maturity of 20 years or so.

²¹⁵ Mansén (1998).

²¹⁶ Seen in lists over registered Spa visitors in the Central archives in Ronneby (Dla:9a) and commented by Elisabeth Mansén (2001).

Parts of the first spa semester (1st June–15th July), she spent at Ramlösa Spa²¹⁷ and a few weeks of the second semester (17th July–1st Sept), she spent at Ronneby Spa. It was common to divide the summertime at different spas like this in the 1890s²¹⁸. She has been to several other spas and she has visited Ronneby Spa a number of times since she was a young girl. Her mother remembers the old Ronneby Spa, before the big changes in the 1870s and before the hotel was built.

Illustration; sensing and sensation at Ronneby Spa

The arrival, the lodging and the visit to the doctor's

Going out to the Spa by steamboat from the town centre²¹⁹, I could feel the salty breeze from the sea in my face. I closed my eyes and took a few deep breaths. The air felt different here than in Ramlösa, just as one of the doctors had said.

The water looked as smooth as velvet and dragonflies were playing catch above the water surface. Since I was a bit warm I took off my gloves and put my hands on the rail. It was slightly wet from the water splashing up from below. I leaned out a bit to come closer to the water surface, but my mother looked at me with such dark eyes I instantly sat straight up again, put my gloves on and unfolded my umbrella so that she could not see my face turning red with regret. We met another steam boat going the other direction and the drivers lifted their hats towards each other when passing by. I could smell the smoke from the chimney. The sound of the steam engines was so loud I could not hear that my brother said something to me, while pointing towards the Spa. When I turned around I saw the magnificent new hotel on the top of a hill. (see Figure 9) Many people were standing in front of it

²¹⁷ Ramlösa is situated outside Helsingborg in Scania, in the south of Sweden.

²¹⁸ Bergmark (1985), p. 226.

²¹⁹ The alternative to travelling by boat was to walk alongside the river from the town and out to Ronneby Spa, which is situated a few kilometers from the centre. I believe the woman her travel company I am describing afforded to go by boat. In early times the boats were pulled by horses. In the 1890s the steamboats were operating the river regularly. The boats continued out to the sea and to Karön. (Ronneby Spa's Archives, Ö:6, Tourist brochures from the 1890s)

and I could hear music playing.²²⁰ A new music pavilion had been built there I heard from another visitor on the boat. Flags were waving in the wind and I could see the contours of the new lamps, described to me as the newly installed electricity.²²¹ The excitement could be felt amongst the people on the boat and many expressed their admiration with “Aah”s and “Ooh”s, followed by intense talking to the person sitting closest.



Figure 9. The spa hotel, built in 1897, displayed in two postcards from the early 1900s. The top photograph is taken from a steamboat just before docking the bridge and the hotel is seen on the top left. On the boat bridge there is a woman washing laundry, perhaps linen from the villas or the hotel. (Private collection, Anna Jakobsson)

²²⁰ The hotel was built in 1897 from drawings made by Alfred Arwidius in Malmö, Sweden. He also added the halls next to the well and a new music pavilion in front of the hotel. (Ronneby Spa's archive, BI:12, Correspondence 1895-1897)

²²¹ The mother to the woman I am describing had experienced the Spa without electricity when she visited the place a few years earlier. The electricity was installed in 1899 according to Olof Ingstad (1905, p. 192).

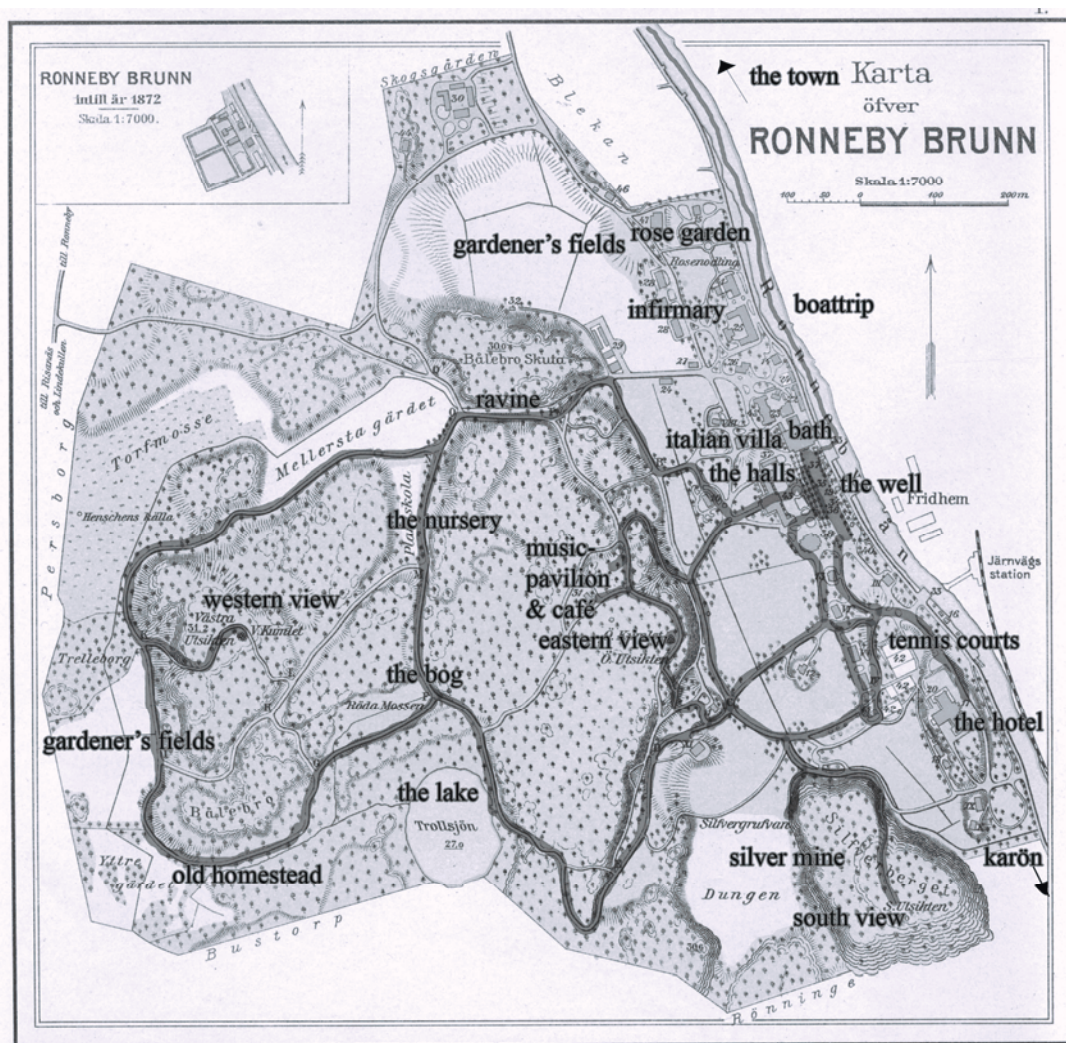


Figure 10. The movements of the embodied spa visitor visualised in a tourist map from 1905. The dark grey line show where the visitors usually walked during a stay. The most visited spots and the places mentioned in the story are marked with English text in the map. (Illustration by author in a map from Ingstad, 1905)

As soon as we entered the Spa grounds we paid our tickets and our housing at the Spa office. We decided we were going to stay for two weeks, making sure that we did not miss the last summer ball. As usual we had made reservations to stay in one of the villas close to the river, with a nice view over the park and the riverside. My mother remembered the mock oranges from last year, but at the office they said the blooming

was over since quite some time and they recommended us to go see the flower plantings beside the Halls (“Brunnshallen”) instead. If we wanted to experience the beauty and the wonderful smell of flowers they recommended us to go to the large rose garden close to the river, maintained by the gardener. There we could also buy bouquets to bring back to our rooms²²².

After leaving our luggage at the house, we all went to the doctor's. His examining room smelled like experiments of some kind and there were bottles filled with different fluids standing on the table by the window. A gas burner was making a humming noise. We talked for a while and I gave him the instructions from my doctor in my home town and the notes from the doctor at Ramlösa Spa. Then he recommended me to drink two glasses of water every morning, since I was only slightly anaemic²²³. He also said that the usual recommended laxative before commencing taking the waters could be harmful to me²²⁴. I was relieved I did not have to go through that awful cleansing procedure mother talked about she had to go through when she was younger.

After the visit to the doctor's I exhaustedly sat down on a bench under a tree with my mother. Several other visitors, who had arrived at the same time, were also sitting on benches under the lime trees²²⁵, resting for a while in the shade close to the Bath House. (see Figure 11) On my mind was the evening dinner. I was hoping for fish of some kind, even though the

²²² Professor Hans Villius (grandchild of Henrik Madelung, the gardener at Ronneby Spa) told me in an interview (2004-01-23) that his mother and her sisters often picked flowers from the rose garden and sold them to spa visitors. It is also stated in Tourist brochures (for example in 1898) that a visit to the Rose garden is recommended because of its beauty.

²²³ In Söderwall's (1879) and Levertin's (1892) writings we find prescriptions for different kinds of diseases. For anaemia they recommended to drink iron containing water (Levertin, p. II and Söderwall p. 73). Söderwall also stated that a third of the patients at Ronneby Spa were there because of anaemia.

²²⁴ It was common to start the spa visit at Ronneby with a "purgation" (Swedish word), a cleansing of the stomach's contents. Hellman (1860) stated that this cleansing was made because the water often made the patients constipated since the water was containing much iron. He argued however that it could do more harm than good to weak patients.

²²⁵ Some were old, remaining from the water boy Pelican's time (see Article II) and some were planted in 1897 when the Halls were built, according to plans by Madelung in Henry August Flindt archives (presented in Article II) and pictures in Tourist brochures 1895-1899.

doctor recommended me to eat meat, for the sake of my anaemia. Perhaps I should have a glass of wine with that. The doctor thought the balance in my blood could be improved through drinking a glass of wine every day. But only one glass, he said. And in the evening I should also take a teaspoon of ‘Carlsbader salt’ in order to make my gut work properly.²²⁶



Figure 11. The Bath House and the spa avenue with benches in a postcard from the 1890s. (Private collection, Karl Lövrje)

My mouth felt dry and I carefully licked my lips with my hand in front of my mouth. We saw my brother coming towards us and we both stood up and walked to meet him. A garden boy was raking the gravel, making it smooth to walk on²²⁷. The dust cloud was covering him and just as I thought he should water the grounds to make it less dry, another garden boy came with a water pitcher and sprinkled water on the surface to calm the dust²²⁸. The last steam boat of the day had just docked the bridge and the driver pulled the steam whistle

²²⁶ Hellman (1860) proposes ‘Carlsbader salt’ to prevent and to remedy constipation due to iron in the water.

²²⁷ Müller and Hirschfeld both wrote on the importance of keeping the paths orderly and dry. The findings in the archives of Ronneby show that it also was important to keep the paths moist (i. e., not too dry). The Spa physician Hellman wrote about the importance of dry paths in his *Handbook för Spa Visitors at Ronneby* in 1860.

²²⁸ In the account books for Ronneby Spa it is noted that the gardener charged the spa company money for watering the gravel, probably to keep it from dusting, several times during the summer. (Ronneby Spa’s archives, GII:1-5, Account books, 1870s) This is also described in Study 1.

to confirm the arrival of new visitors. After dinner we all went straight to bed, being very tired after all new impressions and the visit to the doctor's.

Commencing the water drinking ritual

Taking the waters in the morning, I had to frown since the water was so strong tasting. It was stronger than I remembered from last time. I hope my teeth will not be tinted brown, but perhaps the glass straw will prevent that.²²⁹

We all had to wait for the company of the Kotukhoff family²³⁰ to finish their drinking before we could come forward to the well. All the waiting is tiresome and I almost fainted because of the tight sitting clothes and because I had not eaten anything before taking the waters. Luckily the brass band was playing the whole time, making us all think of something else for a while. I had to drink 2 glasses o water and after the first glass (It seemed like ages before I finished) I had to walk back and forth in the avenue for ten minutes²³¹. (see Figure 11) My brother walked together with me and my mother arm-in-arm and we politely nodded to everyone we met. We had to nod a lot.

They offered ginger-bread cookies after finishing the last glass of water²³². It made the taste of the strong water fade, to my relief. I was hungry but tried not to eat the cookie too quickly, since that would make my mother immensely embarrassed. I had to give the last piece to my brother because the

²²⁹ Carin Sylvander described in an illustrated diary from the 1850s (now in the Nordic Museums's archives in Stockholm) that the water from the well tasted very strong. Jöns Christian Hampus Brinck also commented this in 1878 (in *En Utflykt till Ronneby*). In a picture from the late 1800s (Görgen Månsson, private collection) the glass straw used when drinking the water is visible in the hands of a woman standing in the front row and in the mouth of a man in the back row (see Figure 20).

²³⁰ The Kotukhoff family, 1st class visitors from St. Petersburg, Mrs Helena Kotukhoff and Mr Michael Kotukhoff stayed in Gardener Madelung's house in June 1906. Helena Kotukhoff stayed at the gardener's house again in June 1908 with her daughter Lilly Kotukhoff. (Ronneby Spa's archives D1a:9a, Visitor lists of the 1st class spa visitors).

²³¹ Levertin (1892) describes the relationship in time between walking, resting and drinking the water.

²³² Special ginger-bread cookies were made in Ronneby, containing ashes. Those were recommended by Hellman (1860). Ginger is today a well known remedy for nausea and feeling sick to one's stomach (Google for example ginger +sickness), perhaps the hiding of the bitter taste of the water was not the only benefit of eating ginger cookies? [my remark]

company of my mother, two teachers and their wives, were leaving on the obligatory half-hour walk in the park. I walked a few steps behind them at all times, listening to their gossip and admiration of the gardener's flowerbeds (see Figure 12).



Figure 12. The flowerbeds in the park in the 1890s, made by the gardener Henrik Madelung. (Postcard in the collection of Blekinge Museum, Karlskrona)



Figure 13. The postcard from the early 1900s shows the 'Troll's lake' in the forest, seen from the main path, in the picture's right side. (Private collection, Anna Jakobsson).

Taking a Walk

After breakfast my mother and I we went for a beautiful walk in the forest with a different character than the park (compare Figure 12 and 13 and follow the walk in Figure 10). Not without male company of course. My brother came along, unwillingly, but lured by my mother's promise of an extra portion of dessert at dinner. We stopped for a rest at the lake and admired the water lilies and the quietness. (see Figure 13) The darkness of the woods scared me a little. Later I heard that the dark trees were called yew trees²³³. They were deliberately left there to create a dark impression. I liked the nursery of the gardener better. Like me, the small trees await another life, rooted somewhere else.



Figure 14. A woman touching an oak tree. (Photograph from the early 1900s in the collections of Blekinge Museum)

²³³ The yew trees of Ronneby Spa were noticed by Henry August Flindt in his inventory in the early 1870s. In his notes it is not certain if he suggests yews or if they were already growing there. My guess is both, that Flindt added more yews to that part of the forest, making the dark character even more evident. Yew trees are also a part of the Japanese Garden, designed by Sven-Ingvar Andersson in 1987, close to where the Flindt planted his yews.

We were looking for the stone markers, with letters written on them, showing us where we were on the map we got at the spa office.²³⁴ They were nowhere to be found and therefore we were lost and walked the wrong way for a while. When we saw crop fields and fencing we felt we had left the spa grounds and turned back again. Some boys were carving their names into the bark of some beech trees, whispering to each other to stop when they saw us coming. It seemed many others had done the same thing before them. We lingered for a while and I felt the markings on a beech tree showing the picture of a small house. (see Figure 8 in article IV) I wondered who had drawn the picture and if that person was homesick and therefore had made the carving of the house where he or she lived. I too felt a bit homesick, knowing it was many days left on the cure before we could return home. The old oak trees and the beeches comforted me with their age, their silence and durability. (see Figure 14)

We continued our walk along a ravine with running water, sounding very cheerful which made us walk a bit faster. I also seemed cooler there somehow. Uphill we saw some ladies sitting reading on large granite stones (see Figure 15) while being photographed. To me it seemed strange, but my mother explained to me that it was recommended to read whilst resting, saying it was diverting one's mind away from the ailment²³⁵. Perhaps the benches nearby would have been less cold to sit on, but the photographer taking their picture probably wanted a more romantic atmosphere than a simple bench.

²³⁴ These stones are still there today, marking the crossroads in the forest, with red letters painted on them.

²³⁵ Hellman (1860) recommends music or reading in the afternoon which achieves diversion and recreation. Leverin (1892) writes about the importance of enjoying the time of rest on page L.



Figure 15. Women sitting reading in the forest (Photograph from the early 1900s in the collection of Blekinge Museum, Karlskrona)



Figure 16. Some people gathered in the grass close to Villa Italiana (Photograph in the collection of Blekinge Museum)

My brother and I both felt excited by the music and we wanted to walk upwards. My mother did not want to join us, so we walked by ourselves and followed the music up the hillside. The paths were winding and sometimes we felt the music disappeared but then it suddenly felt close again. Quite soon we reached the pavilion and found there were many people sitting next to it, drinking coffee in the afternoon sun beneath the pine trees. (see Figure 18) Since we did not have any money to buy coffee and cinnamon buns²³⁶ we walked past the pavilion and stopped for a while next to a pine tree, resting for a while, listening to the music, now a classical piece I did not recognise.

Entering the open park grounds again after our walk we found many more people walking out in the open than in the forest. Or maybe, it hit me, the forest paths were laid out so that it was meant to make you feel alone, not meeting anyone the whole way. I glanced at some men walking on crutches over by the infirmary, knowing it was impolite to stare, but I was curious of their ailment. We turned right and towards the halls again, seeing more and more people and hearing more and more humming noise of voices talking in a silent fashion. A family was having a picnic in the grass by the Italian Villa (see Figure 16) and the brass band was playing again, but now the sound came from a pavilion on the top of the hill. (see Figure 17) “How enchanting”, my mother said taking a deep breath of satisfaction, closing her eyes towards the sound, listening to the tunes of a waltz I did not know the name of. She said she remembered the melody from last time she was here and the pavilion was newly built.²³⁷

²³⁶ Coffee with cinnamon buns in reasonable amount were recommended by Hellman (1860).

²³⁷ The music pavilion and the café on the top of the hill were built in 1893 (Ingstad, 1905, p. 188).



Figure 17. The music pavilion seen from the halls below the hillside in the 1920s or early 1930s. Today the vegetation is hiding the place where the pavilion used to be. Since 1938 there are only a few base stones left to mark the spot. (Photograph in the collection of Ronneby Musei- och Hembygdsförening)

A gentleman sitting at one of the tables whispered to us that he recommended taking a stroll to the eastern viewpoint which was the highlight of the walk according to him. We took the path he recommended, seeing an old burial site in the shape of a pile of rocks from the Bronze Age to our top right, just as he had explained. Feeling quite small we turned slightly left and up towards the light at the top of the hill and the view was indeed breathtaking, displaying the river, the hotel and the park below. I felt contentment and closed my eyes, facing the breeze which had a slight smell of the ocean.

Walking downwards again, we found that a staircase was laid out there with granite steps. They were certainly needed here since the hillside was steep and dangerous. Several times my brother had to help me climb down because the steps were uneven and sometimes very high and I had to hold my skirt high in order not to step on it and fall.



Figure 18. Café Skogshyddan, close to the music pavilion, built in 1893. The only signs of the building today are the base stones. (Postcard from personal collection, Anna Jakobsson)

Safely on the plain ground again, we met the two teachers and their wives, on their way to take a boat trip on the lake they were talking about before. They were taking a promenade by horse, riding a carriage²³⁸, and the horse snorted as it trotted past us. I waved my hand and my brother lifted his hat. The teachers and their wives, hiding under umbrellas, did the same, smiling at us as they whooshed by.

On a rainy day

The next day it was raining and the water drinking ritual had to take place in the Halls (see Figures 19 and 20). Our planned walks in the forest had to be postponed since the doctors did not want us to become wet and cold. They did not recommend us to walk the next day either, since the forest then would be full of mosquitoes. Everything was wet and my brother complained that there was nothing to do. The tennis courts were full with puddles. The skittle alley (in Swedish: k gelbanan) was too squidgy and so was the bicycle arena.



Figure 19. The Halls (Brunnsall n), built in 1897. (Photo: Anna Jakobsson, September 2008)

²³⁸ Carriages could be rented at Ronneby Spa. To promenade in Swedish could either mean walking on foot, riding a carriage or taking a boat trip. (*Svenska Akademiens Ordbok*, online <http://g3.spraakdata.gu.se/saob/> entry: promenad, 2009-07-06).



Figure 20. Water drinking in The Halls (Brunnshallen) in the summer of 1899. The glass straws which were used to protect the teeth from blackening, are seen in some of the spa visitor's glasses, for example to the far right. (Private collection, Görgen Månsson)

The only thing to do was to sit and read newspapers listening to piano playing in the hotel assembly hall. My mother regretted that the old 'Schweizeri' was torn down²³⁹, since their pastry was famous and tasty. But we had nice pastries at the hotel restaurant instead, feeling a bit naughty since the doctor recommended a strict diet. But the doctor was not there to argue with us.

We spent the afternoon writing postcards to our father and our friends back home. I sent a postcard to my old teacher with a picture of people drinking coffee at the café in the forest. She would have liked to sit there in the shadow, listening to the music I thought when writing to her about the past day's adventures.

²³⁹ The "Schweizeri" was torn down when the hotel was built 1896-1897.

Ritual becoming (boring) routine

After being at the spa for a week there was nothing left to explore. We had seen the fox's nest ("Rävahiet") close to the lake²⁴⁰, the western view²⁴¹, the ruins of the old homestead²⁴² (see Figure 10) in the far west of the park, the crop fields of the gardener, the island 'Karön' in Blekinge archipelago (see Figure 21), the silver grotto and the south view²⁴³. The music that is played at the forest pavilion seems to be the same every day and the beautiful view over the landscape is no surprise to us anymore, though it is still breathtaking. The old lady Sjöberg said to me yesterday that she appreciated the scheduled routine. She thought everything was changing so rapidly in society and therefore it was nice to come here, knowing what to expect, escaping from the outside world. I felt a bit bored and expressed my feelings to her. "The youth of today", she said shaking her head, clicking her tongue.

Renewed fascination

When my mother's best friend and her family arrived during our last week we suddenly felt refreshed. Being familiar with the routines, we took it upon ourselves to show the newly arrived how things worked, what to do in the afternoons and what sights of interest there were to visit. (see Figure 22) We took pleasure in watching their first ritual of taking the waters, recognising their frowned faces as our own, taking the first sip of strong water through the glass straw. Walking in the forest now seemed exciting again and we revisited some of the spots we had not been to for several days, seeing them again with new eyes. It was almost like showing them our own garden, familiar as we were with the landscape we had been a part of

²⁴⁰ The 'fox's nest' (in Swedish: Rävahiet) is a furrow close to the lake, dug in an attempt to place a water pipe going from the lake to the hotel in the 1890s.

²⁴¹ The western view is a secluded place at a burial mound from the Bronze Age, in the western part of the forest. From the burial mound there has been a view towards the sea in the past (see Jakobsson 2004a, *Historsk inventering av Brunnsskogen*).

²⁴² The ruins of the old homestead 'Bålebro' are visible today in the western part of the forest, in a pasture with sheep.

²⁴³ The 'silver grotto' (in Swedish: Silvergrottan) is a cave at the bottom of a hill in the south of the park. It is called the silver grotto because of a failed attempt to dig for silver was made in the 1600s. The south view is up on the hill where the silver grotto is placed. The view is barely reachable today, but clearings have been made a few years ago making it easier to find the stone steps leading up to the top.

for many days. As I sat down on one of the chairs at “Café Skogshyddan” after one of our afternoon walks, waiting for the coffee to arrive at the table, I thought about something the doctor had said the first day: “Ronneby Spa is indeed a place for recreation of both mind and body at the same time.” I was ready to believe that.



Figure 21. The postcard shows the restaurant on ‘Karön’, which is a small island in Blekinge archipelago just outside Ronneby. The writer of the postcard emphasises the boring routine of the water drinking ritual. (Private collection, Anna Jakobsson)



Figure 22. People gathered at The Old Well (in Swedish: ‘Gamla källan’). It was built in 1846 and is still standing today. (Photograph in the collection of Blekinge Museum)

The power of sensory storytelling

“Humans are language animals, and language is a force that all of us use every day to build, sustain, and destroy. [...] it can be an imaginative force, affecting the quality of place”.²⁴⁴ There is a certain power in telling a story. It triggers the imagination and involves all our senses in an imaginative way. Deliberate involving of sensation and metaphors of sensation in a written or told story is a trick many authors through history have used to make readers feel involved and more ‘touched’ by the text. When senses and sensations are involved the place which the story is about becomes alive to us. In a way we feel as though we have been there in reality, but through our imagination. We get a certain connection to that place through the story. The words told have an effect of being perceptual in that it is drawing attention to things that hitherto were invisible.²⁴⁵ In that way, the stories and the naming of landscape can create ‘place’, a landscape with meaning, in that it constitutes “a special kind of eloquence, based on knowledge”²⁴⁶.

²⁴⁴ Tuan (1991), p. 694.

²⁴⁵ Tuan (1991), p. 692f.

²⁴⁶ Tuan (1991), p. 693.

Yi-Fu Tuan (1991) states that language creates 'place' and he encourages geographers to use more words and speech in their profession. He wishes to carve a place for this in human-cultural geography in general. When it comes to designing landscape the drawing is the main communication tool and the written or told story is most often put aside, even though the drawing may tell a story of its own. The sensory illustration above and the arguments by Yi-Fu Tuan redress the use of words in the making of a place such as a garden in the past. The words together with images make the past become alive and facilitate understanding of the place.

4. Heritage – the future of the past sensing, remembering and imagining of the spa landscape

On the ‘disappearing’ and the ‘reappearing’ of senses in garden design

The spa environment, the doctors’ recommendations and the design of the spa park at the end of the 19th century, was full of sensuality and remarks on how the human body should meet the landscape in order to feel better and experience variety. But ever since the mid 1900s all senses, apart from the visual sense, have been suppressed in the design and the interpretation of architecture and landscape architecture. The existing tools of analysis, the contemporary landscape research focus and the plant breeding industry are examples of this.

Examples of the visual focus within architecture analysis are Gordon Cullen, who deals with ‘serial vision’ as a tool of analysis in *The Concise Townscape* (1966 and 1971) described above and Kevin Lynch, who is focused on the visual presentation of the mental image of a city and its architecture in the *Image of the City* (1960). These two authors’ methods of analysis, though they were not meant to focus entirely on visual impressions, have been cited and used frequently within visual landscape analysis during the late 20th century. Within research on how we experience landscape, more focus has been made on the visual aspect of landscape experience²⁴⁷, than on any other sense. Within plant breeding, ever since the early 1900s the rose has been interbred towards visual perfection. The rose ‘Queen Elisabeth’ was an example of a new rose in the 1950s that did not smell or bend, but had a beautiful flower and a long period of bloom, hence the gardens at that time did not smell of roses, but they were beautiful to look at.

The importance of including other senses than the visual sense, when creating architecture and analysing it has been emphasised by for example Sten Eiler Rasmussen (1962) and Juhani Pallasmaa (1996). They both argue that a suppression of the sensuality in architecture leads to an impoverishment of our environment, giving examples from great architecture in history to clarify this theory.²⁴⁸ Of course, there are examples of landscape architects from the middle of the 20th century and later that have argued that all our senses are important when designing the landscape but I dare to say that there has been a visual dominance within landscape architecture since mod-

²⁴⁷ for example Hägerhäll (1999) and Ode (2003). Hedfors (2002) is an exception, dealing with the sound in landscape.

²⁴⁸ Rasmussen discusses the importance of senses in *Experiencing Architecture* (1962) and Pallasmaa argues in a similar way in *The Eyes of the Skin – Architecture and the Senses* (1996).

ernism and the ideas of the functionalists in Sweden in the 1930s. To see the sunlight and the green from where you live or work has been an important factor in the design of the landscape ever since then, and not what to smell, taste, hear or feel to the same extent.²⁴⁹

Today, in the 21st century, the sensual aspects of architecture are having a comeback. Sound is explored as being an important part of the experience of architecture, not only in lecture halls and in concert arenas, but also out in the landscape and in built environments in general.²⁵⁰ The sense of smell is also a field of interest, for example when choosing different materials for buildings.²⁵¹ The tactile sense has been in focus within garden design for quite some time, when designing gardens for the visually impaired. Since the 1990s we also see an increase of spa establishments, where all sensory impressions are important to gain a feeling of physical well-being. Even the hardy old roses, with wonderful scent but short blooming season and more uncontrolled way of growth, are coming back on a large scale. From the 1990s and onward, the scent and texture of the rose flowers has become the in-thing again. Varieties of roses with the old roses' scent and form combined with the modern roses' repeated flowering were first introduced to the market by the rose breeder David Austin during the late 1960s under the name 'David Austin Roses'. His rose varieties have reached an enormous popularity during the last decades. Sensuality is in focus again.

The knowledge of how the landscape was designed, back in the 19th century, to contain and emphasize sensory impressions is of great importance when dealing with landscape history, identity and conservation plans of 19th century parks and gardens. Even more so, since it seems the importance of a varied sensory experience (with all senses) has been lost somewhere on the way.

There is a growing need to focus on all our senses, both in the design of and in the research of the landscape. Within the field of conservation and historical studies of the landscape, the involvement of all senses is also of interest. There is a point in analysing all senses in the design of the landscape as well as in the discussion of values and landscape character assessment when writing conservation plans. Through the analysis of the sensuality, or the

²⁴⁹ *Svensk Trädgårdskonst under Fyrahundra år* (2000), chapters dealing with the 20th century.

²⁵⁰ The orchestration of the soundscape is raised as a new area of concern in the field of landscape architecture in Per Hedfors' doctoral dissertation *Soundscape - landscape architecture in the light of sound* (2003). *Spaces speak, are you listening - experiencing aural architecture*, by Barry Blesser and Linda-Ruth Salter (2007), deals with nearly the same subject but within architecture in general.

²⁵¹ The importance of smell in experiencing architecture is discussed by Anna Barbara and Anthony Perliss in *Invisible architecture - experiencing places through the sense of smell* (2006).

presumed sensuality of the park in the past, the working perspective when defining values and the assessment of values in a conservation process for a park will be widened. Including the senses, for example the taste of the water and the sound of the music playing, the spa park can be described and experienced more 'accurate' as such.

A sensory description of a landscape facilitates understanding of that landscape

I cannot make the reader experience the landscape of Ronneby Spa first hand, but since I have imagined the experience myself through the source material and after that having let my words and pictures represent my imagined experience, the experience may be clearer to someone else. An argument by Anne Whiston Spirn (1998) implies the same: "To know landscape poetics is to see, smell, taste, hear and feel landscape as a symphony of complex harmonies."²⁵² According to her argument it is by using all senses in the description of landscape I can promote knowledge on that landscape's poetics.

An obstacle in trying to describe the sensory experience of the past landscape is that the 19th century spa visitor did not have the same definitions of landscape as I have, but they may have sensed the elements of landscape in a similar way, being humans. Therefore a description of the landscape experience in the end of the 19th century would not be complete if it only described what it looked like, despite all the visual terms used to describe it in the sources. It would be more complete if it also described the multi sensory experience. A sensory description of a landscape experience today would also be beneficial since landscape more and more is defined as place and an area as perceived by people (see definitions of concepts above).

"The senses are essential and indeed central to the study of art and natural beauty", argues Arnold Berleant²⁵³. Maurice Merleau-Ponty argued that the body is the basis of knowledge, because the "body is constantly perceived"²⁵⁴ and it is through this perception of the body we experience everything else. It is through the bodily context we are able to have relations to objects in our surroundings. In Merleau-Ponty's definition the world of perception is "the world which is revealed to us by our senses and in everyday life"²⁵⁵. He stated that we have to rediscover the perceived world since there has been a strong tradition within natural science, ever since Descartes, not to

²⁵² Spirn (1998), p. 22.

²⁵³ Berleant (2005), p. 3.

²⁵⁴ Merleau-Ponty, (2002 [1962]), p. 103.

²⁵⁵ Merleau-Ponty, (2004), Lecture I, *The World of Perception and the World of Science*, p. 39.

rely on the senses. Science show important aspects of the world but do not constitute absolute and complete knowledge.²⁵⁶ Describing the landscape through the basic bodily senses could therefore be complementary to other methods of analysis when mediating landscape experience and/or perception.

Furthermore, Merleau-Ponty spoke of different qualities of objects in our surroundings. A quality is for example colour, taste and sound. If we want to reveal the mystery of the object in question we have to bind these qualities to each other. If separate qualities (sensory impressions) are associated with the same place of human experience, a certain emotional meaning, we can begin to understand their connection.²⁵⁷ This way of arguing the human perception of the world, using all our senses to reveal the mystery of objects, motivates further why we should reintroduce sensory analysis of architecture and landscape architecture and revive the sensuality in garden design.

The physiological senses work similarly in all human bodies. Sensory stimuli reaches the brain where it is interpreted to a smell, a taste, a sound, a vision or a touch. We have certain memories attached to certain senses, for example the smell of cookies in grand mother's kitchen or the feeling of newly cut grass towards our naked feet at the football field, and therefore our interpretation of the qualities (sensory impressions) of these senses can differ slightly. But whether we interpret them in the same way or not, different people can relate to sensory descriptions in words since humans function physiologically in a similar way.

Through using the mere sensory descriptions, a notion of the experienced landscape can be mediated and the totally 'accurate interpretation' is not necessary to present in order to gain an experience of that particular landscape. The multi sensory experience of a spa visitor is illustrated above. As my body and the fictional spa visitor's body resemble each other we have the possibility to perceive the environment similarly, even though the interpretation is not entirely the same, and I am able to mediate the landscape experience, to someone else.

Involving notions of human experience of landscape in the design and analysis of landscape is something argued by the theorist in aesthetics Arnold Berleant: "We can design an object or we can design a place".²⁵⁸ Designing a place means "to form an understanding that envisions the world as a human place that encloses us as our home. To recognize that the living body is an active participant in the landscape, to integrate the body's dynamic force

²⁵⁶ Merleau-Ponty (2004), Lecture I, *The World of Perception and the World of Science*

²⁵⁷ Merleau-Ponty (2004), Lecture 3, *Exploring the World of Perception: Sensory Objects*.

²⁵⁸ Berleant (2005), p. 39.

within the forces of the land and its features, is to humanize the world and naturalize the human”.²⁵⁹ Arnold Berleant (2005) describes the environment and the designed landscape as inevitably inhabited and engaged by humans, a phenomenological approach similar to Tim Ingold and Yi-Fu Tuan. The design and experience of landscape, he argues is always a combination of the observational landscape and the landscape of engagement, the active participation in landscape.²⁶⁰ A combination of all senses in the analysis of landscape would include both the engagement and the observation, not excluding any part of human experience.

Interpreting the sensory experience of the spa landscape in the late 19th century means going beyond interpreting the plans and the visual impressions and moving on to the human sensation and the quality of the experience. This experienced quality is called the “thick sense of aesthetics”, by Douglas Porteous and Allen Carlson²⁶¹, the ‘thin sense’ being the mere physical appearance. Experiencing and mediating this thick sense presupposes a bodily engagement of the studied environment or object. “The quality must be associated with the object in such a way that it is felt or perceived to be a quality of the object itself”.²⁶² And in order to perceive something we have to use our bodies.

Interpreting the source material and being engaged in Ronneby Spa and the ritual of the cure and trying to retell that to someone else is a way of trying to reach this thick sense of the aesthetics. The point of this is to come closer to the 19th century spa landscape, as perceived by people (compare with the definition of ‘landscape’ in the European Landscape Convention) and to see how combining empirical research with sensory aspects can be beneficial when working with landscape heritage and conservation. I would like to argue that with the sensory descriptions the history and design become embodied, which is beneficial for experiencing landscape heritage as meaningful. Through the description of a person’s perception of Ronneby Spa the experience of the place without actually being there is facilitated. An experience of a landscape existing no more can through a sensory description be conveyed from one person to another, regardless of that person’s actually being there, at that time. Thereby the sensory description conveys parts of the landscape heritage.

²⁵⁹ Berleant (2005), p. 39.

²⁶⁰ Berleant (2005), p. 37.

²⁶¹ Porteous (1996), p. 22, Carlson (2000), p. 142, Carlson (2007) p. 57. They mention “Thin” and “Thick” sense of aesthetics as expressions announced by D. W. Prall in *Aesthetic Judgment*, 1929 and John Hospers in *Meaning and Truth in the Arts*, 1946.

²⁶² Carlson (2000), p. 143.

“Humans touched, saw, heard, smelled, tasted, lived in and shaped landscapes before the species had words to describe what it did. Landscapes were the first human texts, read before the invention of other signs and symbols.”²⁶³ If we read the text, the landscape well, we survived. That is a legacy we all carry with us and anyone with physical senses has potential to read and understand landscape, according to Ann Whiston Spirn (1998). This means that by using and “reading” a person’s sensory experiences, we can come closer to an understanding of the place and the landscape. This “text”, the sensory descriptions can be transferred, for someone else to read and understand. Describing the sensory experience, as in the case study of Ronneby Spa, is an analysis which can be applicable to other historic gardens, existing or none existing. The sensory analysis combined with other historical research could enable understanding of the experience of other places and other gardens similar or different to Ronneby Spa. In an effort to experience the cultural heritage of landscapes this method of analysis could be useful and beneficial.

In the memory of the spa visitor

Places that are important to our well-being, we count on being stable and whole through time²⁶⁴. The spas were such places, important for many spa visitors well being. The spas of Europe were based on the same idea and had the same purpose and therefore the habit of visiting a spa every summer created an expected experience that was fulfilled, independently on what spa was visited. They were stable and whole through time. The design was also similar in all of Europe, which contributed to the notion of the spa park’s specificity and what to expect in forehand. The memory of one spa landscape could therefore contribute to general notion of other spa landscapes, what they looked like and how they were laid out, which in turn could induce a feeling of safety amongst the spa visitors, promoting well-being.

Spa visitors wrote postcards, diaries and stories about their stay at Ronneby Spa. Innumerable photographs were taken by, for example, the photographer Anna Jönsson who had a studio at Ronneby Spa. The photographs were then brought back home and were kept as memories of the stay. The text of the diaries were representations of the place and the photographs were pieces of the reality of the place²⁶⁵, both enhancing the remembrance of the spa, bringing the spa visitors back to the place every time he or

²⁶³ Spirn (1998), p. 15.

²⁶⁴ Tuan (2004) p. 45.

²⁶⁵ Tuan (2004) p. 49f.

she read the text or looked at the photograph. Memorabilia, such as tourist brochures, maps and the doctor's programmes, brought back home by the spa visitors, were also part of the representation of the place and strengthened the memory. In the remembering of the spa landscape the memorabilia items and the story of the spa rise expectations and perhaps contribute to bias and romanticizing²⁶⁶ of the landscape making it better than it actually was, but they also kept, and still keep, the memory of the landscape alive.

The sense of 'place', an attachment and a feeling of security as well as meaning, is essential for humans²⁶⁷. Provided that the quality of the 'sense' (the feeling) of Ronneby Spa was positive, that there was a feeling that time had stood still and that a tie between the spa visitor and the place had merged (a personal memory) the conditions for a sense of place to take hold, were good²⁶⁸. The sense of place was enhanced by the memories, the personal tie and the positive feelings the spa visitor had of the experience of the spa. The sense of place was also enhanced by the stable and similar design and purpose of the spas all over Europe.

The relationship between place and memory is mutual and symbiotic; "Place serves to *situate* one's memorial life, to give it 'a name and local habitation'. The link between place and situation is close."²⁶⁹ Edward S. Casey discusses the role of the body and place when remembering in *Remembering. A Phenomenological Study* (1987). He states that site, as in a fixed position, and time has triumphed over place in defining situations and relations between objects and people in space ever since Descartes and his successors. He wants to re-acknowledge 'place' as being important for memory and recognizes the body as an instrument for re-placing us in remembered places.²⁷⁰

Variation is one of the factors Casey puts forward as factors in landscape making us remember it more. A relief from monotony, being stopped or slowed down and being surprised gives us something to remember the place by.²⁷¹ The variation and the stirring of emotions, declared by doctors at the

²⁶⁶ Karin Johannisson writes about the romanticizing of a landscape the memorabilia items can induce, which she calls *Nostalgia* (Johannisson, 2001). She also writes about how the memory can be kept alive with those items, representing a feeling or, as in the case of Ronneby Spa, a landscape.

²⁶⁷ Tuan (2004) p. 46.

²⁶⁸ Yi-Fu Tuan (2004) describes three conditions for 'sense of place'; the necessity of pause (that time has stood still), the emotional quality of sense in a positive way and a tie between place and self.

²⁶⁹ Casey (1987), p. 188. (his italics and quotation marks)

²⁷⁰ Casey (1987), p. 190.

²⁷¹ Casey (1987), p. 198.

spas and by garden theorists as C. C. L. Hirschfeld,²⁷² served as a generator of memory, connecting the visitors more strongly to the place.

In the imagination of today's visitors

Merely being at the spa triggers the imagination about the past but the experience of the spa, the feeling of how it could have been and how the landscape once looked changes by the amount of knowledge of the landscape. The imagined spa landscape, the landscape of the past we imagine when we visit Ronneby Spa today, is partly based on the left memorabilia of former spa visitors; found in archives or given to us by relatives. The memorabilia are representations of the landscape and help shape our imagination of the landscape of the past. It is like David Lowenthal writes: "We make our environment comfortable by incorporating or fabricating memorabilia".²⁷³ We feel at ease just by suffusing the present experience with our own interpretation of the past. However, learning more and more about the landscape, the importance of the water drinking ritual, the process in designing the spa, the different plants used in flower borders, the human way of experiencing space, the ways of walking and the order of the cure, changes the imagined landscape and the experience of the Spa as a whole.

Ann Whiston Spirn calls this ability to read the landscape "landscape literacy".²⁷⁴ This ability to read landscape develops over time, with the amount of assembled knowledge and to some extent also with the shaping of the landscape. This means that we can never be 'done' with the reading of a landscape and we can never be 'done' analysing it and describing it. The process of understanding landscape is forever continuing. The imagined landscape of the past is thus a product of our understanding of that landscape shaped by knowledge assembled over time.

Differences in how knowledge of the past is communicated is called "faction or fiction", by David Lowenthal.²⁷⁵ He argues that both the actual 'knowing' of actual memories described with certain objectivity (the faction), and the 'imagination' based on certain facts and imagination by au-

²⁷² The variation aspect of garden design at spas and in the garden art of the late 19th century in general is discussed in Article III and Article IV.

²⁷³ Lowenthal (1975), p. 6.

²⁷⁴ Anne Whiston Spirn (in *Landscape Research* 30/3, 2005) exemplifies the importance of landscape literacy with the project of Restoring Mill Creek, a landscape she has worked with for over 18 years. She recognised the importance of collected knowledge over a long period and the importance of being involved in shaping of the landscape in order to read the landscape properly and just.

²⁷⁵ Lowenthal (1985), p. 224-227.

thors (the fiction), are important factors in shaping the heritage of a landscape. The imagined or fictional accounts of the past contributes equally to the collected knowledge of the past as do the “factual account” of the past because: “No account can ever recover the past as it was, because the past was not an account; it was a set of events and situations. As the past no longer exists, no account can ever be checked against it, but only to other accounts of the past.”²⁷⁶ According to David Lowenthal the importance of fiction in understanding of the past is an exaggeration made by novelists. In my point of view, if the story of the past, the historical fiction, is an *imaginary weave* of many different accounts such as people’s memories, stories, pictures, history of ideas and knowledge on the garden design ideals, that story would be the closest we can come to actually experience the past even though it can never recover the past in total. An imagined past, a fiction constructed and weaved together with several accounts is important in historical research and in understanding of the past.

On the question whether it is important to experience the past of Ronneby Spa the answer could be that “awareness of the past is in myriad ways essential to our well-being”²⁷⁷ and in order to understand the landscape of today, the understanding and the “reading” of the past landscape is beneficial²⁷⁸. An awareness of the past also explains the changing of the meaning of the landscape. In the past the landscape of Ronneby Spa had a meaning of being a medical facility. The walking and the experience of the landscape were meaningful in the way that they had a certain purpose (to gain health). Since the treatments and the water drinking rituals ceased in the 1930s, the meaning of walking and being at Ronneby Spa has lost its original purpose and the experience thus has lost its original meaningfulness. However, the collective memory of the purpose of the spa, maintained by stories, photographs and articles, facilitates an understanding of the original intent. The awareness of the past gives the landscape new meaning and the meaningfulness is recreated by the knowledge of the original purpose.

Reactivating an actual memory requires a renewed sensation in the present²⁷⁹. Even though today’s visitors do not have actual memories of the spa, the stories and photographs constitute an ‘imagined’ memory as they represent a part of the reality of the spa. In this aspect the benefits of including sensory aspects in the induced collective memory, apart from photographs and stories is obvious. Sensation and sensory aspects renewed in the present

²⁷⁶ Lowenthal (1985), p. 215.

²⁷⁷ Lowenthal (1985), p. 185.

²⁷⁸ The importance of ‘reading’ a landscape is argued by Spirn (1998).

²⁷⁹ Lowenthal (1985), p. 250.

would enhance the understanding of the past landscape of Ronneby Spa even though the original purpose of the spa is lost.

Being at Ronneby Spa today the absence of people, apart from at the Sunday's flea market, is evident. The design and the original purpose of the spa landscape require people to be complete. The *imaginary weave* must include people as seen in Figure 23. People provide context to landscape, either they are there or absent.²⁸⁰

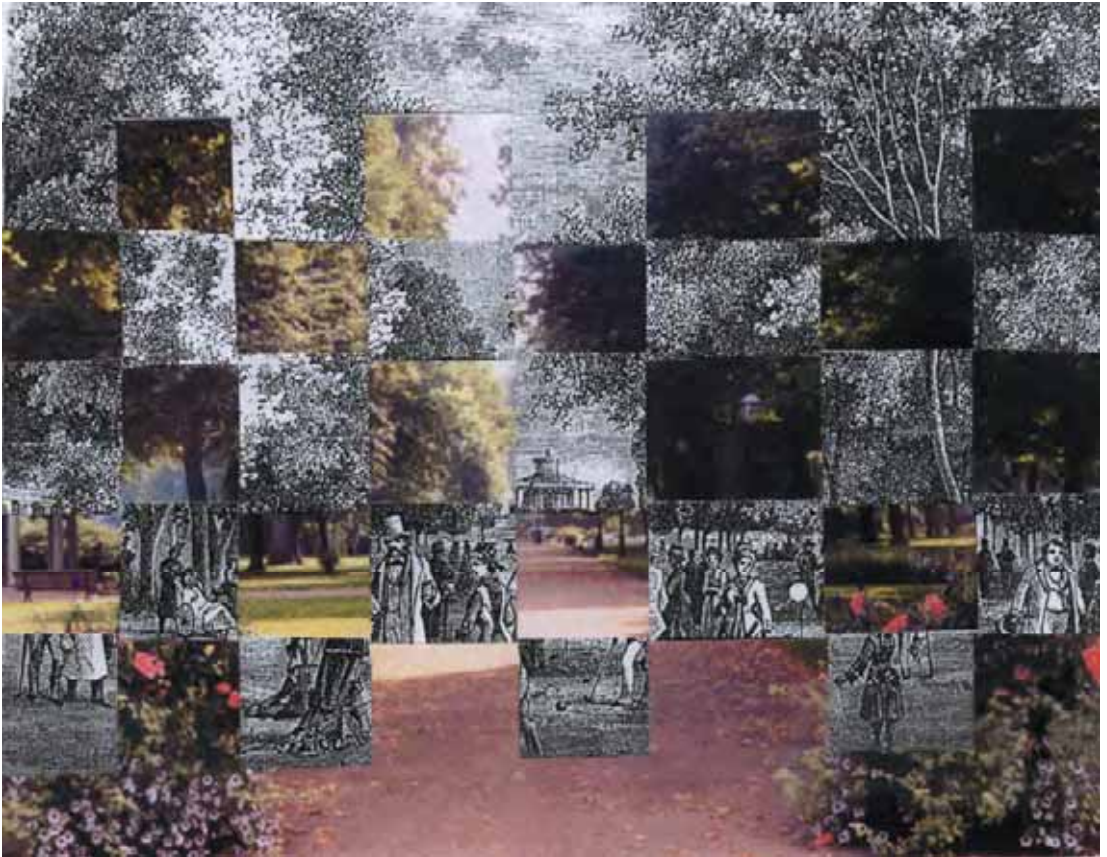


Figure 23. The *imaginary weave* of Ronneby Spa. The weave displays an image of the populated past simultaneous with an image of the unpopulated present. To see them both at the same time means understanding the heritage and the change of the landscape at Ronneby Spa. (Collage by author from a picture by C. S. Hallbeck 1877 in Trolle (1877) and a photograph by landscape architect Åsa Setterby, 1999)

²⁸⁰ Spirn (1998), p. 147.

“Heritage can be envisaged as knowledge, simultaneously a cultural product and a political resource”²⁸¹. The heritage of Ronneby Spa I would define as just that. For the local citizen of Ronneby the heritage is a stronger creator of identity than for an outsider. For the majority of people today the spa is heritage; as in a representation of medical history and a cultural product in the design and the layout of the medical facility. Knowing more about the spa’s history it also represents a political resource today, in the past and perhaps also in the future in that the spa once was presented as a solver of a population’s medical problems and the lack of medical knowledge.

Peter Howard, identifies several heritage identity levels in *Heritage. Management, Interpretation, Identity* (2003). The first level of identity is the home, thereafter comes the neighbourhood, the locality, the county, the region, the nation, the continent and the international levels²⁸². In all those levels, except perhaps the last international identity level, the heritage interests of Ronneby Spa could be addressed, which argues that the investigation of the heritage of Ronneby Spa is of importance for the sake of identity. The local and regional investigations at Ronneby Spa so far have dealt mostly with the so called tangible realms of the heritage, viewed in the buildings and the physical environment. The heritage challenges in the new century are to extend conservation beyond the buildings to the activities of that building and “to find ways to allow people to keep their memories alive, and recyclable – the sustainable future.”²⁸³ Imagining the activities and the sensations at Ronneby Spa are moves in that direction.

“Heritage is not history, even when it mimics history. It uses historical traces and tells historical tales, but these tales and traces are stitched into fables that are open neither to critical analysis nor to comparative study”²⁸⁴. In the above text I have defined the heritage of Ronneby Spa and illustrated part of the heritage through an *imaginary weave*. In David Lowenthal’s expression, my *imaginary weave* (or: the stitched fable of historical traces using his words) of Ronneby Spa can be called heritage, but not history. But I do leave my *imaginary weave* open to critical analysis and to a comparative study since it is a weave of both empirical studies and theoretical reasoning, traceable through references. In that respect the *imaginary weave* is history and that perhaps makes it useful as a method of analysis of cultural heritage.

²⁸¹ *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity* (2008), p. 5.

²⁸² Howard (2003), p. 148.

²⁸³ Howard (2000), p. 8.

²⁸⁴ Lowenthal (1998), p. 121.

On the meaning of the spa landscape then and now

In the proposals for changes to Ronneby Spa in the 1980s, Sven-Ingvar Andersson wanted to give the visitor an experience that lived up to certain expectations²⁸⁵, just as the design in the late 19th century lived up to certain expectations for those visiting Ronneby Spa. He stated that “we spend time with nature in a different way today than during the turn of the century [the shift from 19th to 20th century, my remark] and the gardens should allow free scope for that”²⁸⁶.

The new additions in the proposal of renewal of Ronneby Spa were the Garden of Scent, the Garden of a Thousand Roses, the Spring Garden, the Waterfall, the Ponds beneath the hillside and the Japanese Garden. These new contributions, especially the Japanese Garden, were criticised in the press with arguments saying that the new gardens did not have anything to do with Ronneby Spa as it once was and should therefore not be included in that environment. This is correct, if you choose only to see the visual qualities of the garden as meaningful.



Figure 24. The Japanese garden (Photos: Anna Jakobsson, 1998 and 2008)

When designing the Japanese Garden (see Figure 24), Sven-Ingvar Andersson had the objective of bringing the landscape’s “ignored attractions to the attention of joggers and other modern users of the park”.²⁸⁷ At the spot in an old bog where he decided to put the Japanese Garden he saw that it was already there in the tree trunks and the scattered boulders, “it just had to be brought out”²⁸⁸. He wanted the public to see and “be invited to open their

²⁸⁵ Andersson (1984), unpublished manuscript on the renovation of Ronneby Spa, p. 11.

²⁸⁶ Andersson (1984), unpublished manuscript, p. 22.

²⁸⁷ Andersson (2007), unpublished lecture.

²⁸⁸ Andersson (2005), p. 183.

eyes for the beauty of Nature”.²⁸⁹ Using mostly native plants (the bamboos were planted there without his intention), clearing the boulders and building a bridge to walk on through this offered just the concentration of nature he sought after.²⁹⁰

The Japanese Garden means something for today’s park visitor, just as a flower planting in the latest fashion probably meant something for the spa visitor in the 1800s. Japanese Garden art and this concentration of nature in small spaces are parts of the garden ideals today and the contemporary spirit of the time. In this sense the Japanese Garden in Ronneby Spa is meaningful and makes sense in the spa park today just as the exotic plantings and changing the names of the different parts of the landscape (for example the change of the name of the lake from Bålebro Bog to ‘Troll’s lake’) did in the end of the 19th century. The Japanese Garden is the modern man’s way of approaching nature and a more modern way of finding peace and contemplation, similar to that of the general idea of the 19th century spa landscape.

The Garden of Scent (‘Doftträdgården’, see Figure 25) was designed to be a transition between nature and the man made, displaying and concentrating nature in one spot, focusing on the sense of smell. Concrete pillars with overlying branches of oak from the forest are overgrown with honey-suckle and in its own way it is communicating with the history of the spa when focusing on senses and by being placed at the same spot as the old nursery.

The meaning of the 19th century spa landscape was, among others, the interplay between senses, medical philosophy and design. The meaning of the spa landscape today is something different, since the water cures ceased a while ago, but the meaning of the historic landscape can still be conveyed and understood through a storytelling, like the illustration of sensory experience above, or by incorporating senses and design, like in the Garden of Scent, and philosophy like in the Japanese Garden, that is understood by today’s people.

The changes in 1987 play an important role in the experience of the park today. Equally, the designation of the Cultural heritage site in 1996 and the Cultural reserve in 2003 play roles in raising the general expectations and changing the experience of the park. Consequently we see Ronneby Spa as something valuable and worth preserving for future generations. It is however important to keep the discussion on what is valuable alive in order not to fall into the ‘pit of nostalgia’ [my expression], making it better than it ever was or preserving it as a museum with less or no meaning for today’s and for

²⁸⁹ Andersson (2007), unpublished lecture.

²⁹⁰ Andersson (2007), unpublished lecture.

future visitors; “To make the experience of history strong it is important that the environment is as authentic as possible [...but not] something stagnant you look at passively.”²⁹¹



Figure 25. The Garden of Scent (Photo: Anna Jakobsson, winter 1998)

Re-experiencing and imagining as a way of understanding heritage

During the research process I have found that the importance of the water drinking ritual and of the action of walking when experiencing the spa cannot be underestimated. Both actions and the understanding of them mean something to the experience of the heritage of Ronneby Spa.

The ritual is important for the experience of the spa. At first I was not aware of the water drinking ritual and the time scheduled movement. When I experienced the place via the ritual my perception of the spa park's design and organisation changed and the design made more sense. When the spa's history and its design became clearer, the whole facility's spatial organisation

²⁹¹ Andersson (1984), unpublished manuscript, p. 22. Sven-Ingvar Andersson stated that a museum is stagnant and looked at passively. Ronneby Spa did not risk being a museum in his proposal, according to him, because the park had a chance of being both authentic and 'lived in' at the same time.

and meaning could be described and analysed in another way than through the designer's eyes. Instead it could be described through the action of a body and through the imagined experience of all senses, involved in the action of the walking and the water-drinking ritual.

“When considering gardens as sites of specific ritual practices, we may reach an understanding of their active role in the development of three levels of social categories: one spatial, another personal, and the last cultural.”²⁹²

Michel Conan (2007a) argues that rituals have a natural part in the study of gardens in general. Through studying and imagining the experience of the water drinking ritual at the spa in the 19th century, the heritage of gardens as representations of intentions becomes clearer. At Ronneby Spa the ritual of the cure is evident and deciding the spatial layout, as argued in Article III, the personal experience and the culture of spas. The case study of Ronneby Spa serves as an example of an understanding that could be reached through the study of the ritual. The same analysis and way of approaching the case of Ronneby Spa could apply for other gardens as well. Through the ritual the understanding of what was “lost” and why it was lost becomes clearer. Through this understanding, the design and layout of the garden make more sense.

²⁹² Conan (2007a), p. 4.

Concluding remarks

The journey with Ronneby Spa has taken different turns than intended from the start, for example with the senses, which I had thought of before but never analysed in the landscape. However the road has come to a point where certain things can be brought to an end.

Separate conclusions of the thesis

Several actors and categories of professions shaped the spa and the experience of the spa in the end of the 19th century. Firstly there were those who worked explicitly with shaping the place; the gardener and the landscape architect. Secondly the doctors played an important role in shaping and controlling the spa environment. Thirdly, the spa visitors played a role in the experience of the spa since they brought memories of the spa back home and helped to shape the story and the memory. Lastly, not mentioned very much in the thesis more than indirectly, there were the musicians, the boat drivers, the bath ladies, the distributors of water, the chefs, the waiters and the photographers, all contributing to the experience in one way or another, visually, auditory, by touch, by smell or by taste.

The sensory experience, the movement and the variation were central for the cure as such and for the design of Ronneby Spa as well as for the design of gardens in general at that time. The doctors recommended the use of gardens and landscape for medical purposes and garden theory shows integration of the prevailing medical philosophy in the recommendations for design of gardens and landscapes, especially for spas.

The thesis argues the importance of a multidisciplinary approach within research on landscape and the including of sensory experience when working with analysis of historic landscapes, parks and gardens.

A multidisciplinary way of approaching landscape

Combining both material culture and the culture of ideas when studying landscape opens up for a discussion on the human perception of landscape and presents a more elaborate and multidisciplinary interpretation on how landscape can be defined; There is only the experienced landscape, meaning that there is no physical or mental landscape on either side of the experience, they are experienced at the same time, the one dependant on the other.

Including the study of different actors, as shown in Article I-IV can be one way of being multidisciplinary when approaching landscape. The doctor and the architect represent different actors but also different scientific viewpoints on landscape and its design.

The meaning of the research on Ronneby Spa

The case study of Ronneby Spa can be used as means to widen knowledge and meaning of the cultural heritage of that particular place. The research on Ronneby Spa may also contribute to a discussion of and a change of view on the analysis of historic parks, gardens and landscapes by adding the analysis of the use of senses in garden design and the role of walking/movement. The case study shows the importance in studying the role of walking and movement and the role of analysing sensory experience in garden design. This contributes in turn to the heritage discussion in general on landscapes as something perceived by people and opens up possibilities to alternative conservation proposals and ways of analysis.

The research on Ronneby Spa contributes to a way of looking at spa parks, and recreational areas, as generators of well-being through emphasising walking and sensory experience as parts of the design.

Towards a more detailed way of describing landscape experience

By acknowledging the importance of the movement in the experience of landscape the descriptions of landscape in general could be developed towards being more detailed. By incorporating movement of the human body in the analysis of landscape the present focus on the visual qualities of landscape could be widened to also include focus on touch, olfaction, hearing and taste.

To include sensory experience when analyzing parks and gardens would have the same effect as including movement. When studying the history of gardens, the physical reality often comes first, in analyzing the design and the material it was made of. Through the sensory aspect, applied to the empirical material, the context of landscape can be reached, following the advice of Tim Ingold, meaning there is neither an outer nor an inner, mental landscape, only the experienced landscape. Notions on the interplay between sensory aspects, garden design and medical philosophy presented in this thesis could be the basis of developing methods of similar analysis for other gardens.

Through the detailed study of the empirical material, using imagination and collected knowledge in an *imaginary weave*, the meaning of a place can become clearer and the story widened. Through the clarification of the sensory parts of landscape experience, the conservation aspects of a landscape can be elaborated and described in more detail. Together the *imaginary weave* and the sensory aspects could facilitate the understanding of landscape as perceived by people, the notion of landscape fostered by the European Landscape Convention.

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Anna

Framework appendix

Summaries of Studies 1-3

- Study 1. Jakobsson, A. (2000), *Ronneby Brunnspark – historien om en hälsobrunns parker och Trädgårdar*, Rapport 00:2, Department of Landscape Planning Alnarp, SLU. (Master Thesis)
- Study 2. 'Historisk inventering av Brunnsskogen', 2000 (Historical Inventory of the Spa Forest), in: Jakobsson (2004a), Licentiate thesis, Rapport 04:1, Department of Landscape Planning Alnarp, SLU.
- Study 3. 'Skötselplan för Kulturresevat Ronneby Brunn', 2002 (Management plan for the Culture Reserve), in: Jakobsson (2004a), Licentiate thesis, Rapport 04:1, Department of Landscape Planning Alnarp, SLU.

Summary of Study 1

The first part of the licentiate thesis is published separately in *Rapport 00:2* at the Department of Landscape Planning Alnarp, SLU (2000), with the title *Ronneby Brunnspark – historien om en hälsobrunns parker och trädgårdar* (Ronneby Spa – the history of a Swedish Spa's parks and gardens). This study was made as a part of a Conservation Plan (Setterby et al, 2000) of Ronneby Spa, assigned to the Department of landscape Planning Alnarp by the local authorities in Ronneby and the County Administrative Board in Blekinge in 1998. It describes the history of Ronneby Spa as a whole including the early watering place-years 1705-1873, the expansion to a Spa of continental standards 1873-1878, the 'Golden Age' ca 1880-1910 and the decline after the

First World War. It also describes what has happened to the Spa after it was declared bankrupt in 1929, when the Spa activities ceased in 1938 and the facility was taken over by the town council.

Examples of changes during the 20th century are for example the famous designs “Japanska trädgården” (the Japanese Garden) and “Doftträdgården” (the Garden of Scent) by Sven-Ingvar Andersson in 1987.

The publication includes lists of plants 1873-1878 together with a discussion and a summary of the works by the Landscape Architect Henry August Flindt and the Gardener Henrik Madelung during the same period. Fold-out illustrations show how the Spa was expanded and how its design was changed. The study is mostly based on archival research in Ronneby, Stockholm and Copenhagen and on field studies in Ronneby. It is also based on literature studies on Spa design from the 18th and the 19th centuries, such as Christian Cay Lorentz Hirschfeld (1779-85) and Daniel Müller (published by Agathon Sundius, 1888). With Müller, among others, as a starting point Ronneby Spa's design is somewhat compared with the design of the public parks during the late 19th century.

Summary of Study 2

Study 2, “Historisk inventering av Brunnsskogen” (Historical inventory of the Spa forest), was initiated by the county administrative board in Blekinge and carried out by Blekinge Museum in 2000. It is focusing on a historical analysis and inventory of historical traces in the part of Ronneby Spa called “Brunnsskogen”. The study was a part of the preparing works before designating the whole of Ronneby Spa as a Culture Reserve in 2003. Before 2003, only half of Ronneby Spa was protected by government laws. Brunnsskogen was not included in the protected area. The inventory and documentation of the forest's history in particular was a stage in the aim of providing government or council protection for the whole area of Ronneby Spa.

The main analysis presented in the study is about historical traces, going back to the prehistoric landscape, the farming landscape of the 1600s and the Spa landscape of the late 1800s. The study includes analysis of cultural historical values as well as nature values, historic land use and Henry August Flindt's inventory and design of the landscape. As part of the illustrations are traced maps and plans from 1688, 1810, 1873, 1905 and 1920.

The study is based on archival research and the literature discussion in Study 1, but includes a broader analysis and new source material. It was published for the first time in the Licentiate thesis, Rapport 04:1.

Summary of Study 3

Another part of the preparing works in declaring Ronneby Spa as a Culture Reserve was a Management Plan for the area in question. Study 3 is a Proposal for Management Plan; “Skötselplan för kulturreseptatet Ronneby Brunn”, written together with Roland Gustavsson, professor at SLU 2002. The project was assigned and financed by the county administrative board in Blekinge and published in the licentiate thesis’ appendix.

The document includes proposals for management of the areas included in the culture reserve on long-term, which was an assessment based on Studies 1 and 2; the history, the historic land-use and the cultural, historical and nature values.

Summary of the Licentiate thesis’ framework

The licentiate thesis *Vatten, Vandring, Vila, Vy & Variation. Den Svenska Kurparkens Gestaltningssidé* / Water, Walk, Rest, View & Variation. The Design Principles of the Swedish Spa Park was published, evaluated and defended in 2004 (Jakobsson 2004a). The licentiate thesis publication, Rapport 04:1, included four parts; Studies 2 and 3 and Articles I and II (republished in this thesis). It also discussed Study 1, which is a separate publication (Jakobsson, 2000).

The aim of the licentiate thesis was to describe the history of Ronneby Spa, from the early 18th Century up till today, and to study the basic design principle as well as its realization, its design and design elements, during the late 19th Century.

The main conclusions of the licentiate thesis were;

1. The course of treatment is the key to understanding the design of the spa park.
2. The design elements within Ronneby Spa derive from the treatment’s demand for special functions, such as a short walk or avenue close to the

well, benches for resting, shadow, a larger park for walking, a variation in scale and design and field excursion destinations.

3. The designs for the public parks were probably a source of inspiration for the design of Spa parks. However the spa parks display a specificity including for example an increasingly higher degree of nature experience with distance from the well.
4. The design of spa parks in general represents primarily a mix of inspiration from other spa parks, a collection of design elements made necessary by the course of treatment and an essence of the ideas of the landscape architect and of gardener.
5. The spatial organisation of the park at Ronneby Spa during the late 19th century can be summarized in four kinds of areas or spaces; water drinking spaces in two scales (a small formal garden or avenue for walking and a larger park for promenades), further walking space in a forest and field excursion destinations outside the spa.
6. The design principle of Ronneby Spa can be summarized with the five words water, walk, rest, view and variation which describe the order of the cure and the spa visitor's experience of the spa facility.

As the course of treatment controlled the spa visitor's movements, the experienced space is mainly defined by the course of treatment. A basic design principle is presented in the licentiate thesis as something evolving mainly from the cure function as it is described in different park programmes for spas and treatment programmes. It is also described as evolving from park ideals at the time, mainly from the design ideas of the public park.

Article II, original manuscript including footnote references

Published in the licentiate thesis 2004 (Jakobsson, 2004a). The images and the lists over plants have been taken out in the original manuscript to save space. The size of the text has been changed as well as the spacing before printing in this thesis.

Manus till jubileumsboken för Ronneby Brunn
(planerad utgivning av Byggförlaget, Stockholm december 2004)
Anna Jakobsson, 2004-09-23

Med lie & lukjörn, spade & sopkvast, penna & pensel, dynamit & dahlior och frustration & fröpåsar

Ronneby Brunnspark är en kär företeelse för alla Ronnebybor och en plats besökare från när och fjärran vallfärdar till. Det är en plats som andas kulturhistoria, som ger skugga under trädens och buskarnas grönskande valv, som manar till eftertanke och vila, motion och naturupptäckter. Brunnsparken har några år på nacken, inte riktigt så många som 300-årsjubiléet (1705-2005) säger men gott och väl 132 år (1873-2005). I tanken tog parken form redan 1705 och i händerna på bland andra brunnsskänk Pelican, trädgårdsmästare Henrik Madelung och "landskabsgartner" Henry August Flindt blev anläggningen, som först kallades Ronneby surbrunn och sedan Ronneby hälsobrunn, verklighet. Hos dem fanns alla drömmar och tankar om en plats som famnade livet, hälsan och vattnet och hos dem fanns kunskapen om utemiljöns inneboende krafter för ett bättre mående. Med handkraft, som ibland var förstärkt med dynamit, med goda redskap, med finkänslighet i pennspets och pensel, med kunskap gällande exotiskt såväl som inhemskt växtmaterial och med gott om tålamod blev Ronneby Brunnspark vad den är idag.

Med spade & sopkvast, lie & lukjörn 1705 (1726) – 1873

Apotekare Ferber

Området kring den första källan som hittades 1705 var sankt och bevuxet med al och björk samt någon enstaka ek och bok.²⁹³ Skogen på berget, som då inte ingick i brunnens område, var vid den här tiden glest bevuxen med enar och björkar²⁹⁴. Marken kring källan som hittades 1726, sedan den första sinat, och som är den mark vi står på när vi har Gamla källans brunnshus framför oss, var likadant beskaffad om inte ännu mer lik ett kärr än den förra. 150 år senare planterades hela ytan mellan ån och bergsbranten med ovanliga och mer ”exotiska” träd och buskar för att ingå i Ronneby Brunnspark i slutet av 1800-talet. Men 1726 befinner vi oss fortfarande på den glest bevuxna och lilla brunnsgården, eller brunnsplanen, som platsen kring källan kom att kallas.

Den första personen som satte sin prägel på brunnsplanen var amiralitetsläkare och stadsapotekare Johan Eberhardt Ferber från Karlskrona²⁹⁵. Han utsågs till brunnsintendent vid Ronneby surbrunn 1726 och arrenderade en yta runt källan som troligtvis sträckte sig mellan ån i öster och bergsbranten i väster²⁹⁶, men till att börja med hägnade han endast in en ca 90 gånger 90 meter stor yta och det är den ytan som också visas på alla kartor och planer under åren 1772–1848²⁹⁷. Sly röjdes bort och gräset slogs undan från platsen runt källan. Hägnaden uppfördes antagligen i form av ett enklare trästaket som lätt kunde tas bort vid behov och som skyddade brunnsplanen från trampande och betande djur. Ferber uppförde också ett enklare brunnshus för att skydda det värdefulla vattnet och lät plantera ett antal granar utmed ån och Reddvägen, vilka markerade brunnens läge för förbipasserande båtar²⁹⁸.

²⁹³ Centralarkivet Ronneby kommun (CRK), Förrättningsarkivet (2), beskrivning till karta av M. Hesselgreen, 1714.

²⁹⁴ CRK, Förrättningsarkivet (1) beskrivning till Petter Geddas karta 1688 i en kopia av kartan från 1802.

²⁹⁵ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 38.

²⁹⁶ Den arrenderade ytan var större än den som inhägnades och användes för brunnens verksamhet. Ägaren till marken bedrev odling runt om brunnens inhägnad och i åkanten betade djur, troligen får. Om de senare trätomålen, under andra hälften av 1700-talet, angående rätten till marken och hur stor den arrenderade ytan egentligen var står att läsa i Ingstad, 1905, sid. 48–78. Bland annat tog sig ägaren friheten att så vete inne på brunnens åkermark, på de ytor brunnskänken ännu hade hunnit så det korn han planerade.

²⁹⁷ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 160f.

²⁹⁸ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 38 och sid. 42.

(se bild 1). Någon enstaka av dessa granar stod kvar så sent som på 1880-talet²⁹⁹.

Gistréns medicinalträdgård och brunnskänk Pelicans planteringar

Lars Gistrén, en av Ferbers medhjälpare, tog över rollen som brunnsintendent 1757, samma år som han blev "stadsphysicus" i Karlshamn³⁰⁰. Som stadsläkare anlade Gistrén två olika medicinalträdgårdar i Karlshamn. Den ena upprättades 1761 och den andra 1768. Den senare placerade han nära den surbrunn han anlade i Karlshamn 1768. De växter han odlade i den medicinalträdgården³⁰¹ var "Imperatoria" (mästerrot, *Peucedanum ostruthium*), "Salvia" (troligen kryddsalvia *Salvia officinalis*), "Cichorium" (cikoria, *Cichorium intybus*), "Carduus" (troligen benediktstistel, *Cnicus benedictus*³⁰²), "Ruta" (vinruta *Ruta graveolens*), "Schorzonera" (skorzonerot, *Scorzonera hispanica*), "Apium" (selleri, *Apium graveolens*), "Valeriana" (troligen vänderot, *Valeriana officinalis*³⁰³) och "Leontopodium" (troligen edelweiss men det är exceptionellt tidigt, *Leontopodium alpinum*). Medicinalträdgårdens växter i Karlshamn kan även ha odlats i eller vid Ronnebys hälsobrunnsanläggning i mitten av 1700-talet när Gistrén var intendent där.

Ronnebys brunnsanläggning var dock inte i bästa skick i mitten av 1700-talet. I ett meddelande till Konungens befallningshavande stod att brunnsplanen vid Gistréns övertagande "[...] ej [hade] så mycket jord uppodlad att en kålplanta därpå kunde sättas". Marken var bevuxen med al och björk "vätskig" och betecknades som ett "fullkomligt kärr".³⁰⁴ Gistrén anlade spåtergångar och planteringar samt planterade ekar på brunnsplanen för att förhöja upplevelsevärdet. Några ekar stod kvar vid brunnsens 200-årsjubileum 1905. Två väldigt gamla ekar, som visserligen står utanför den gamla brunnsplanen, men som säkert växte på platsen redan innan Gistrén kom dit, står idag kvar i anläggningens östra delar, en vid infarten mot Brunnsshotellet och en vid

²⁹⁹ Ingstad, O., 1905, sid. 70.

³⁰⁰ Charlesen 1998, sid. 7.

³⁰¹ Charlesen, J., 1998, sid. 14 presenterar en växtlista skriven av Lindwall och Bäck 1774. Denna lista är här ytterligare tolkad och analyserad m ha växtintroduktionsupplysningar i Lange (1999) och muntliga upplysningar av Kjell Lundquist, Institutionen för landskapsplanering Alnarp.

³⁰² Lundquist, Kjell, muntligen 26 augusti 2004.

³⁰³ Lundquist, Kjell, muntligen 26 augusti 2004.

³⁰⁴ delar ur brevet citerade i Ingstad, O., 1905, sid. 89.

villa Gymnastiken. Lars Gistrén fick många lovord för alla planteringsinsatser.³⁰⁵

Brunnsskänken, som anställdes för att skänka ut vatten till brunnsgästerna och hålla anläggningen i fint skick, var brunnens första trädgårdsmästare med den viktiga uppgiften att se till att brunnen hade ett vackert ansikte utåt. En av de mer kända brunnsskänkarna, båtsman Carl Mattisson Pelican, anställdes först av Ferber under 1750-talet och sedan av Gistrén 1761. Pelicans uppgift var att skänka ut vatten till brunnsgästerna men också att sköta ”brunnsplansens uppodling på därför afsedda ställen”. Träd som behövde fällas hade han tillåtelse att hugga ned.³⁰⁶ Han skulle sköta byggnadernas och lösörets tillsyn och dessutom ålade man honom särskilt att underhålla gärdesgården, som troligen var av trä, kring brunnspanen. Han fick inte släppa in någon som inte var hederlig och beskedlig mellan brunnstiderna och bara om brunnsgästerna uppträdde så fick de utnyttja det kägelspel som förvarades i en av byggnaderna. Förutom brunnspanens åkerlappar och ängsvegetation, vars avkastning han fick nyttja, skötte han också en egen kålgård med grönsaker samt en liten tobaksodling.³⁰⁷ Tobaksodling var vanligt förekommande vid denna tid, även i stor skala. Anders Tidström, en av Carl von Linnés elever, beskrev omfattande tobaksodlingar utanför Karlshamn år 1756³⁰⁸.

Brunnsskänkens kålgård låg bakom platsen för dagens Badhus No 1. Under 1700-talet innehöll kålgårdar generellt oftast inte bara kål, lök, rovor, olika ärtor och bönor som den medeltida kålgården, utan odlingskvarteren var även avsedda för andra grönsaker som användes i köket. I *En Fulständig Svensk Hus-Hålds-Bok* av Broocman från 1736–39 rekommenderades förutom kål, bönor och ärtor, även huvudsallad, portlak, selleri och jordärtskockor. Växterna blandades inte i de olika odlingsbäddarna. Det vanligaste begreppet för en sådan odling under 1700-talet var dock inte kålgård utan köksträdgård eller köksgård. Detta berodde antagligen främst på att kålens betydelse successivt minskade när potatisen introducerades i Sverige under samma århundrade och att fler växtslag introducerades och odlades.³⁰⁹ I brunnsskänkens kontrakt står att han hade nyttjanderätt till ”kryddor, hö och säd som på planen växa”³¹⁰, vilket också talar för att det växte annat än bara kål i kålgården.

³⁰⁵ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 45.

³⁰⁶ Ingstad, O., 1905, sid. 90 ff.

³⁰⁷ Ingstad, O., 1905, sid. 90 ff.

³⁰⁸ Weibull, M., 1891, sid. 82.

³⁰⁹ opublicerad uppsats, Romanus, H., 1998.

³¹⁰ Ingstad, O., 1905, sid. 90.

Brunnsskänk Pelican skulle också sköta det så kallade "staquetheuset", som troligen var någon slags berså eller ett promenadgalleri som hade en pergola-liknande konstruktion, för den ser inte ut att ha något vanligt tak i den plan som finns från Pelicans tid i slutet av 1700-talet (se bild 2, vid bokstaven C).

Lars Gistrén efterträddes 1772 av provinsialläkare Arvid Faxé och åren som följde var turbulenta för brunnens del, med rättstvister gällande nyttjanderätten till marken och hur stor ytan som skulle nyttjas för brunnens räkning egentligen var. Markens egenskaper hade förbättrats med brunnsskänk Pelicans uppodling och bland annat därför blev frågan ett tvisteärende.³¹¹ En följd av tvisterna blev att en lantmäterikarta upprättades 1772 och det är tack vare den som vi får veta hur den första brunnsanläggningen såg ut (se bild 2).

Exempel på medicinalväxter som odlades av Lars Gistrén på 1770-talet

benedikttistel	<i>Cnicus benedictus</i>
cikoria	<i>Cichorium intybus</i>
edelweiss	<i>Leontopodium alpinum</i>
kryddsalvia	<i>Salvia officinalis</i>
mästerrot	<i>Peucedanum ostruthium</i>
selleri	<i>Apium graveolens</i>
skorzonnerrot	<i>Scorzonera hispanica</i>
vinruta	<i>Ruta graveolens</i>
vänderot	<i>Valeriana officinalis</i>

Exempel på växter som troligtvis odlades av Brunnsskänken, i kålgård och tobaksodling i slutet av 1700-talet³¹²

gräslök	<i>Allium schoenoprasum</i>
jordärtskocka	<i>Helianthus tuberosus</i>
matlök, kepalök	<i>Allium cepa</i>
morot	<i>Daucus carota</i>
portlak	<i>Portulaca oleracea</i>
purjolök	<i>Allium porrum</i>
rova	<i>Brassica rapa</i> var. <i>rapa</i>

³¹¹ Ingstad, O., 1905, sid. 48-78.

³¹² växtlista för en kålgård är hämtad ur opublicerad uppsats, Romanus, H., 1998. Nutida växtnamn är kontrollerade m ha *Kulturväxtleksikon*, 1998. Namn på tobak i odling i slutet av 1700-talet är hämtat ur Lange, J., 1999.

sallat	<i>Lactuca sativa</i>
selleri	<i>Apium graveolens</i>
trädgårdsböna	<i>Phaseolus vulgaris</i>
trädgårdsärt	<i>Pisum sativum</i> ssp. <i>sativum</i>
virginiatobak	<i>Nicotiana tabacum</i>
vitkål	<i>Brassica oleracea</i> Vitkål-gruppen

Lummighet, nyanläggningar och brunnsskänk Petterssons formklippta växter

Den 19 augusti 1825 prövade Carl Henrik Fallén ”Insect-håfven utan synnerlig vinst” vid brunnen³¹³, vilket bara betyder att det inte fanns så många växter omtyckta av insekter just då, men ängsmark fanns det, liksom åkermark (se bild 2 och 3). I början av 1800-talet tillkom även gymnastikredskap och en karusell, som bestod av en kraftigare påle med en roterande korsarm, vilket formade gräset och marken under karusellen till en cirkel när brunns-gästerna åkte runt, runt. Cirkeln är synlig i kartmaterial från tiden (se bild 3). I kartmaterialet och i andra avbildningar från samma tid kan man också se att träd var planterade längs promenadstigen nära källan. Den centralt placerade gruslagda promenaden, skuggad av trädrader, var kännetecknande för en brunnsanläggning³¹⁴.

Brunnsplanen, och därmed samlingsplatsen framför källan blev större 1844 då den gamla brunnssalongen revs och en ny brunnssalong uppfördes längre västerut. Åkermarken i väster omformades och fick stjärnformade promenadstigar. Samma år som källans överbyggnad fick det utseende den har idag, 1846, så köptes en bit mark kallad Tobakslyckan in i söder, vilket medförde att den totala ytan av anläggningen ökade markant, även om det inte kom brunns-gästerna till godo. Anläggningens nya brunnssalong, det nya brunns-huset och gångstigarnas stjärnmönster syns tydligt i kartor från 1847 och 1848 (se bild 4 och 5). Brunnsskogen utgjorde vid denna tid en privatägd betesmark tillhörande Carlstorps gård och användes därför troligen inte av brunns-gästerna. För promenader och naturupplevelser gjordes istället utflykter till Fridhem tvärs över ån, till Djupadal och till promenadparken Snäckebacken nära staden. Bodde gjorde man inne i Ronneby.

I en beskrivning av marken vid ån i början av 1800-talet berättas att inte ens 20 gräshoppor kunde livnära sig därpå. Andra beskrivningar, till exempel de skrivna berättelserna av Jakob Berzelius 1807 och av Sofia Sjöborg från

³¹³ Karlson, W., 1949, sid. 41.

³¹⁴ Jakobsson, A., 2003, sid. 198.

1810–1840 samt en liten skiss från brunnsplanen av Carin Sylvander 1859, talar för att det var en lumvig grönska som mötte brunngästen. En berså eller lövsal av avenbok, liksom rader av lövträd längs grusgången beskrevs av både Sjöborg och Berzelius. I Sylvanders skiss (se bild 6) visas träd som skuggar brunnsplanen, vilken dessutom var fylld av vilobänkar.³¹⁵

August Pettersson, den brunnskänk som kom att arbeta vid brunnen på 1860-talet, 100 år efter brunnskänk Pelican, hade ett mer omfattande kontrakt. Förutom nyttjanderätt av grödorna och höet från anläggningens odlingar omfattade kontraktet även en årslön på 300 riksdaler eftersom det inte längre fanns någon större åker att odla efter omläggningarna på 1840-talet. Han hade fortfarande förmånen att få bo på området. Elden skulle vaktas, olika bad skulle tillredas, avgifter skulle tas av brunngästerna och blomsterväxter skulle planteras. Av kontraktet kan också utläsas att det fanns häckar, bersåer och andra prydnader som brunnskänken skulle klippa, alltså någon form av formklippta växter som till exempel liguster, avenbok eller hagtorn. Detta fanns bara i mindre utsträckning före 1840-talet och förändringarna i anläggningens utseende kan tydligast ses vid en jämförelse av planerna från 1829 och 1847. Skyffel, och lukjärn var antagligen något som brunnskänken fick använda ofta då han även ålades att skyffla och jämna sand- och grusgångar på brunnsplanen.³¹⁶

Med penna & pensel, dynamit & dahlior, frustration & fröpåsar – Ronneby Brunnsparcs tillkomst och Brunnskogens iordningställande 1873–1878

Henry August Flindt, hans bakgrund, inspirationskällor och arbetssätt

I slutet av 1800-talet, när de stora utvidgningarna skulle äga rum, tog man hjälp från andra sidan Öresund. Henry August Flindt (1822–1901) från Köpenhamn var från början ”Kunstgartner” vilket var en examenstitel för de som arbetade med trädgårdskonst. Under andra halvan av 1800-talet ändrades titeln till ”Landskabsgartner”³¹⁷ och idag kan den kanske närmast översättas med landskapsarkitekt. Han fick i uppdrag att göra ett förslag till förnyelse av Ronneby Hälsobrunn 1873 och detta inkluderade även brunnskø-

³¹⁵ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 52f (Berzelius beskrivning), 56f (Sofia Sjöborgs beskrivning) och 76f (Carin Sylvanders beskrivning och skisser).

³¹⁶ CRK, Ronneby Hälsobrunns arkiv, FI:2 Handlingar 1830–1906, Kontrakt med Aug. Pettersson 1862–1866, se även Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 75

³¹⁷ *Nordisk Illusteret Havebrugsleksikon*, 1946, uppslagsord: Kunstgartner.

gen, som då blev en del av anläggningen (se bild 8). Formgivare av brunnsvillorna och badhuset var Carl Ferdinand Rasmussen (1831-1903) från Köpenhamn³¹⁸, men några av villorna ritades senare av andra arkitekter, bland annat Gymnastiken år 1891, av arkitekt Svante Svensson i Karlskrona³¹⁹.

Flindt var en framstående landskapsarkitekt och den förste att självständigt praktisera i Danmark³²⁰. I kölvattnet av den goda konjunkturen under 1860-talet utvidgades många lantbruk och önskemål på förslag till utvidgningar och omläggningar var många. Närmare 200 uppdrag genomförde Flindt åt herrgårds- och slottsägare i hela Danmark. Han fick även flera sådana uppdrag i södra Sverige. Bredvid sin privata praktik fick han 1877 ta över sin gamle lärare Rudolph Rothes tjänst som "Haveinspektør ved Kongelige Lysthaver" och administrera trädgårdarna vid Fredensborg, Frederiksborg, Frederiksberg, Rosenborg och Sorgenfri i Danmark.³²¹ Till detta kan adderas flera uppdrag till offentliga parker som till exempel Ørstedsparken i Köpenhamn (1877-79)³²².

Henry August Flindt var äldste sonen i familjen, näst äldst i en syskonskara på sex. Det var från början meningen att han skulle gå i sin fars fotspår och bli officer, men av hälsoskäl var han tvungen att avstå från det.³²³ Som 17-åring 1839 gick han i lära hos slottsgartner Rudolph Rothe på Fredensborg, idag Dronning Margarethe II:s sommarresidens (förf. anm.). Därefter var han trädgårdselev hos slottsträdgårdsmästare J. P. Petersen i Rosenborgs Have under åren 1842-44.³²⁴ När dessa lärlingsperioder var avslutade fick han en trädgårdsmästarexamen och begav sig efter två års praktik som "undergartner" på Bregentved³²⁵ 1844-1846, iväg på en utlandsresa i nästan sex år.

³¹⁸ Arkitekten för Ronneby Brunnsparkers villor heter Carl Ferdinand Rasmussen enligt *Dansk Biografisk Leksikon* (1899) och enligt *Weilbach Dansk Kunstnerleksikon* (1998). Han hette alltså troligtvis inte Christian Ferdinand Rasmussen som uppges i Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 85. Inga originaldokument har återfunnits inom ramen för detta arbete där han själv eller någon annan skriver ut hela namnet. I vilken källa namnet Christian dök upp från början vet jag inte i nuläget.

³¹⁹ Blekinge Museum, Brunnsinventering 1983, av Thomas Persson och Karl-Erik Pettersson.

³²⁰ Stephensen, L. S., 2001, sid. 207.

³²¹ Hansen, U., 1950, sid. 108.

³²² *Weilbach Dansk Kunstnerleksikon*, 1994, uppslagsord: H. A. Flindt.

³²³ Hansen, U., 1950, sid. 107.

³²⁴ *Weilbach Dansk Kunstnerleksikon*, 1994, uppslagsord: H. A. Flindt.

³²⁵ Bregentved herrgårdspark ligger mitt på Själland i Danmark. Anläggningens namn kommer av danskans "bregner" som betyder ormbunkar och parken antas vara platsen där H. C. Andersen skrev *Den fula ankungen* 1844 (enligt Lund, A., 1997, sid. 61). Möjligen är detta en viktig karaktärsbeskrivning av parken Rothe och Flindt hade att utgå ifrån i sitt arbete. Kanske såger det också något om hur anläggningen sedan såg ut efter deras arbeten med restaureringsförslaget. Rothes arbeten utgick mycket från försköning och "improvement" av

Under åren 1846–1850 arbetade han först i Tyskland, vid Booths plantskola i Flottbeck utanför Hamburg. Därefter reste han till Skottland och praktiserade i Dalkeith Park utanför Edinburgh. Anhalt nummer tre var Royal Botanical Gardens i Kew utanför London. Hur länge han stannade på varje ställe framgår inte, men troligen minst ett år vid varje praktikplats. Sista året 1850–1851 reste han i Frankrike och gjorde ett kort uppehåll i Paris 1851 innan han reste hem till Danmark där han startade sitt eget kontor.³²⁶ (se bild 7)

Eftersom Flindt praktiserat en längre tid i både England och Tyskland samt vistats en kort tid i Frankrike, får man anta att han kan ha inspirerats av alla ländernas trädgårdskonst under 1840-talet³²⁷. Frankrike kanske han tog intryck av i mindre grad under just denna period men kanske desto mer från 1851 till slutet av 1860-talet då många parker anlades eller lades om i Paris. Både i England och i Tyskland började de offentliga parkerna få stort utrymme i slutet av 1840-talet, med varierad vegetation, slingrande gångar och blomsterplanteringar. I England och än mer i Tyskland anlades även i övrigt mycket arkitektoniska blomsterplanteringar nära viktiga platser eller byggnader vilket kombinerades med slingrande gångar och mer landskapsliknande arrangemang³²⁸.

Något som lär ha präglat Flindts trädgårdskonst var kontakten med hans lärare, slottsträdgårdsmästaren Rudolph Rothe, som han dessutom blev god vän med³²⁹. Rothe ansåg att arvet efter de naturlika engelska landskapsparkerna under mitten av 1700-talet fortfarande var viktigt och de planer han gjorde för Fredensborg visar en skogslik park med promenader utlagda mellan trädgrupper och öppna gräsytor för att ge fina vyer och naturupplevelser likt en tavla³³⁰. Blomsterplanteringarna lyser med sin frånvaro.

Rothe genomförde även ett restaureringsförslag i "landskaplig stil" till Bregentveds park. Förutom att Flindt praktiserade som trädgårdsmästare där 1844–46 så färdigställde han också Rothes förslag där under 1880-talet.³³¹

anläggningarnas befintliga karaktärer (enligt Stephensen, L. S., sid. 144, bl a). Årtalet Den fula ankungen skrevs sammanfaller med Flindts praktik i anläggningen. Detta behöver inte betyda något, men med lite fantasi kan det vara så att Henry August Flindt var Den fula ankungen personifierad i Andersens Ögon. Flindt utvecklades möjligen från en rådvill, nykläckt trädgårdsmästare till en kunnig, mogen trädgårdsmästare under dessa år. Kanske skulle detta symboliskt kunna översättas till "från ful ankunge till vacker svan".

³²⁶ Hansen, U., 1950, sid 107f.

³²⁷ Stephensen, L. S., 2001, sid. 210–216.

³²⁸ Stephensen, L. S., 2001, sid. 210–216.

³²⁹ Hansen, U., 1950, sid. 108.

³³⁰ Stephensen, L. S., 2001 sid. 151.

³³¹ Lund, A., 1997, sid. 61

Därav kommer troligen Flindts sätt att kombinera den blomsterprydda parken med mer landskapslika avsnitt i till exempel Ronneby Brunnspark.

Eftersom Flindt också arbetade mycket med växtmaterialens produktion och skötsel på en plantskola i Tyskland och vid den botaniska trädgården i Kew får man anta att han var mycket intresserad av allt det nya växtmaterial som kommit till Europa vid denna tid. Detta intresse för växter med annorlunda färg och form fick blomma ut i hans förslag till Botaniska trädgården i Köpenhamn men även i hans planteringsförslag för Ronneby Brunnspark.

Under tiden Flindt arbetade med Ronneby Brunnspark var han medlem i det Kongelige Danske Haveselskab (1872–89) och han var, som tidigare nämnts, Inspektör för de kungliga slottsträdgårdarna (1877–91). Under samma period som han ritade Ronneby Brunnspark arbetade han bland annat med Botanisk Have i Köpenhamn (1871–74), Kysthospitalet i Røsnæs (1875), Universitetsplatsen i Lund (1875), parker i Helsingborg (1876) samt Vallo slott i Danmark (1895).³³² Samma år som Flindt på allvar satte igång med delförslag till Ronneby Brunnspark som innebar en mer detaljerad planering så ritade han också ett förslag till S:t Lars sjukhuspark i Lund (1874)³³³. Ett flertal vårdinrättningar fanns alltså på hans meritlista, liksom anläggningar rika på ett nytt, annorlunda växtmaterial och offentliga anläggningar gjorda för promenader.

En ”god blandning” skulle man alltså kanske kunna kalla Flindts utgångspunkt som trädgårdsskapare. I Ronneby Brunnspark föreslog han just denna variation i en kombination av både den blomsterprydda promenadparken med öppna gräsytor för vackra scenerier och den naturlika skogen med utsiktspunkter och varierad promenad. (se bild 8, 9 och 10)

När Henry August Flindt fick ett uppdrag, oftast brevledes, besökte han först trädgården i fråga och talade med ägaren. Därefter gjorde han en uppmätning och inventering och sedan upprättade han ett förslag, tillsammans med en beskrivning och en överslagsberäkning på kostnaderna. Godtogs förslaget upprättade Flindt därefter detaljerade planeringsplaner och arbetsritningar till trädgårdsmästaren, oftast bara i ett exemplar, vilket har medfört att flertalet av dessa handlingar inte finns bevarade.³³⁴ Flera förslagsutkast finns dock bevarade, liksom en del renritade arbetsritningar, i Flindts samlade arkiv³³⁵.

³³² *Weilbach Dansk Kunstnerleksikon*, 1994, uppslagsord: H. A. Flindt.

³³³ Ryding, O., 1996, sid. 112.

³³⁴ Hansen, U., 1950, sid 111.

³³⁵ numera i Kunstakademiets bibliotek, samlingen af arkitekturtegninger i København.

Enligt rykte, uppsnappat av en arkivarie i Köpenhamn, upprättades detta arkiv av hans fru, Oligra Petrine Constance³³⁶.

Flindt höll sedan inte bara ständig kontakt med ägaren/beställaren via brev och besök utan hade även regelbunden kontakt med dem som genomförde förslaget, det vill säga trädgårdsmästarna, dagsverkesarbetarna och trädgårdseleverna. Denna kontakt upprätthöll han oftast både under anläggandet och efteråt under flera år ibland, för att försäkra sig om att parken eller trädgården hanterades på ett sätt som motsvarade hans intentioner. Han ansvarade för alla växters beställning och tog också på sig ansvaret för att hitta nya trädgårdsmästare när de slutade sin anställning.³³⁷ Flindts engagemang och arbetsmetoder var beundransvärda, inte minst med dagens mått mätt. Idag medger oftast inte anläggningsbudgetar och skötlekonomi ett så stort engagemang från förslagsställarens sida, även om det vore önskvärt.

Att agera kommunikationslänk mellan uppdragsgivare och utförare innebar också att Flindt var tvungen att inte bara ha en stor fackkunskap utan även en stor människokännedom och skicklighet i att kommunicera. Det var också allmänt känt att Flindt hade en god egenskap i det att han alltid var engagerad, gick människor till mötes och hade sina projekt aktuella i huvudet. Han var en aktad yrkesman och person av både uppdragsgivare och anställda trädgårdsmästare.³³⁸ När han gick bort i lunginflammation den 19 januari 1901, 78 år gammal, kunde han räkna nära 300 projekt till sin meritlista varav 200 var herrgårds- och slottsträdgårdar i Danmark och södra Sverige.³³⁹ Bland de resterande hundra, som nummer 165, fanns Ronneby Brunnsspark. Henry August Flindt fick aldrig några barn och testamenterade istället sin förmögenhet till trädgårdsmästarnas hjälpförening i Danmark³⁴⁰, vilket visar på hans starka engagemang för yrket.

Kapten Palander tar kontakt med Flindt och ett förslag upprättas

Den 22 mars 1873 skickade ordföranden i dåvarande Brunnsdirektionen i Ronneby, Kapten Palander, ett brev till "Herr Kunstgartner Flindt" i, vari han meddelade att ett bolag bildats för att ta över Ronneby Helsobrunn och att man hade köpt in jordegendom till ett värde av 70 000 riksdaler för att

³³⁶ hustruns namn i *Weilbach Dansk Kunstnerleksikon*, 1994.

³³⁷ Hansen, 1950, sid. 111.

³³⁸ Hansen, U., 1950, sid. 111.

³³⁹ Hansen, U., 1950, sid. 108f.

³⁴⁰ Hansen, U., 1950, sid. 109.

verkställa planerna på en utvidgning³⁴¹. Jordegendomen bolaget köpte in 1873 var hemmanet Carlstorp, vilket omringade hälsobrunnen på tre sidor.

Palander ville att Flindt skulle ”uppgöra en plan för utläggning af terrängen”. Helst ville bolagets styrelse först utvidga äldre anläggningar omkring själva brunnen, sedan göra plats för kurhotell och societetslokaler och använda resten av den plana marken till ”landtliga bostäder åt kurgäster”. Tillsammans med arkitekten C. F. Rasmussen, uppgjorde Flindt en arbetsplan och en beskrivning över Ronneby Brunnsparkens utvidgning, som skrevs under av de båda den 3 maj 1873³⁴² och som godkändes i stora delar av bolagsstyrelsen i juli samma år³⁴³. Under anläggningsarbetena som sedan ägde rum hade Flindt en löpande kontakt med Brunnstyrelsen och direktören.

Flindt och Rasmussen kallade förslaget ”Plan till utvidgning och försköning af Ronneby hälsobrunn och badanstalt”. De mest utmärkande delarna i förslaget var en järnväg och ett badhotell. Järnvägen skulle gå rakt igenom anläggningen. Det tänkta badhotellet, en korsformad byggnad nordväst om källan, skulle ligga på en höjd med huvudinfarten placerad rakt framför. Inga av dessa förslag blev verklighet. I badhotellets närmaste omgivning skulle buskgrupper, gräsplaner och blomsterpartier vara anlagda och alla stigar ut i terrängen skulle börja därifrån.³⁴⁴

Källans byggnad ville de utvidga, på samma plats den låg sedan tidigare, och den skulle omges av breda gångar och buskgrupper vid sidorna. Från platsen framför källan skulle man ”Från spatsergången under de höga träden [få] en vacker utsigt till Schweizeriet märkt J”. Schweizeriet var skulle ligga ”på en höjd, omgivet av en platå, hvarifrån fås en vacker utsigt, hvars måleriska skönhet ytterligare förhöjes af passande anbragta buskgrupper”.³⁴⁵

Söder om gamla brunnsplanen byggdes också en Schweizeribyggnad³⁴⁶ på en upphöjd plats och buskplanteringarna riktades mot toppen, vilket tillsammans med den tänkta vyn från brunnsplanen ytterligare poängterade vikten av denna byggnad. Den blev en byggnad att ta sikte på i promenaderna som

³⁴¹ Konstakademiets bibliotek i Köpenhamn, samlingen af Arkitekturtegninger, oregistrerat material, Flindts arkiv: Ronneby H.165, brev i Afd. 1: Palander-Flindt.

³⁴² CRK, Ronneby hälsobrunns arkiv, FI:3 Handlingar: *Beskrifning öfver Ronneby Brunn och Bad-anstalt och Beskrivelse over Arbeidets gang med Ronneby Brønd og Badeanstalt*, 3:e maj 1873.

³⁴³ CRK, Ronneby hälsobrunns arkiv, AI:2 Protokoll: 14 juli 1873.

³⁴⁴ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 86f.

³⁴⁵ CRK, Ronneby hälsobrunns arkiv, FI:3 Handlingar: *Beskrifning öfver Ronneby Brunn och Bad-anstalt och Beskrivelse over Arbeidets gang med Ronneby Brønd og Badeanstalt*, 3:e maj 1873.

³⁴⁶ Ett Schweizeri var en byggnad i ”schweizerstil” som ofta inhyste ett ”kafé förbundet med utskänkning av spirituösa drycker” (enligt Hellquist, E., 1922. Uppslagsord: schweizeri).

följde brunnsskickningen. Schweizeriet revs i samband med hotellbygget 1896-1897.

Villorna, 45 stycken, delades in i tre grupper beroende på deras placering: Intill landsvägen, i norra delen och i skogen. Villorna längs landsvägen skulle byggas i "allmän villa-stil som harmonierar med de omkring anbragte planteringarna". Villorna i norr skulle byggas i en "landtlig stilart", eftersom de låg i en sluttning och planteringarna däromkring skulle ha en lantlig karaktär. Villorna och planteringarna i det karga bergpartiet skulle "uppföras i en för deras läge passande stilart". TrädgårdsmästARBostaden med tillhörande växthus skulle ligga ute i terrängen inom bekvämt räckhåll för åkrarnas skötande och "Parkanläggningen emellan badeanstalten och bergena böra med passande planteringar och gräsmattor gifva skugga och lä för de spatserande och på samma gång framhålla det måleriska i terrängen och omgifningarna".³⁴⁷ (se bild 8)

Några villor för brunnsgästerna blev dock aldrig uppförda i skogen, utan endast i parken nedanför berget. TrädgårdsmästARBostaden blev uppförd på en helt annan plats än den föreslagna, men den placerades ute i terrängen, nära odlingsytorna.

Alla planteringar skulle harmoniera med naturen och Flindt ville framhäva terrängens och omgivningarnas "måleriska" skönhet, vilket är karakteristiskt för en landskapspark. Ute på gräsyterna placerades små grupper av träd för att ge djup i perspektivet åt de vandrande brunnsgästerna, men i huvudsak var träd- och buskplanteringarna koncentrerade till gångstigarnas skärningspunkter, vilka i sin tur var breddade som för att ge plats för möten och små pratstunder. Nära badhotellet ritade Flindt in blomstergrupper och följde därmed de rådande tyska idéerna om att blomsterrabatter, i en anläggning som var landskapsinspirerad, enbart låg nära byggnader. (se bild 9)

En sammanfattning av de arbeten som sedan gjordes

Åren 1873-78 anlades alla parkens delar steg för steg, med start dels vid den gamla brunnspanen som pryddes med orangeriväxter i kruka, dels i skogen med sprängningar av nya stigar (se bild 11). Arbetet fortsatte sedan söder om brunnspanen med villor och park med mycket annorlunda växtmaterial samtidigt som en plantskola upprättades i skogen. De tre sista åren ägnades åt

³⁴⁷ CRK, Ronneby hälsobrunns arkiv, FI:3 Handlingar: *Beskrifning öfver Ronneby Brunn och Bad-anstalt och Beskrivelse over Arbeidets gang med Ronneby Brönd og Badeanstalt*, 3:e maj 1873.

att uppföra en trädgårdsmästarbostad med odlingar, anlägga parkdelarna nedanför berget, plantera träd längs ån, uppföra badhus, ny brygga vid brunnsplanen och flera villor.³⁴⁸ Sammantaget var det ett imponerande arbete som slutfördes på fem-sex år, även om det hade gjorts med dagens moderna redskap. Till sin assistans hade Flindts medhjälpare, trädgårdsmästarna V. V. Rygaard och Henrik Madelung (se bild 12), som mest 34 män och kvinnor från Ronneby som hjälpte till med väganläggning i skogen, plantering av träd och buskar, märkning med etiketter med mera.³⁴⁹

Sommar & höst 1873:

- Egendomen Carlstorp förvärvades av det nybildade Ronneby Hellsobrunns AB.
- Anläggningar av vägar och gångstigar i skogen, liksom djupgrävning av de planteringsytor som skulle anläggas till våren i Södra Villaområdet påbörjades av Flindts första assistent vid brunnen, V. V. Rygaard.
- En upprustning av brunnsplanen med blomsterdekorationer, orangeriväxter och utplanteringsväxter gjordes till sommaren.
- Byggandet av villor tog sin början.

Våren 1874:

- Henrik Madelung började som Flindts biträde/trädgårdsmästare vid brunnen i slutet av januari år 1874.
- Anläggning av parken och trädgården i Södra villaområdet, söder om brunnsplanen, påbörjades i slutet av mars och avslutades i juni.
- Ett Schweizeri och sex villor blev helt färdiga söder om brunnsplanen lagom till terminsstarten 1 juni (enligt brev från Madelung till Flindt). En villa flyttades 1896 och uppfördes som Villa Emma, 2 villor längs med ån revs i samband med hotellbygget 1896-97 och kvar av de sex villorna idag är Villa Flora, Villa Viola och Villa Wega. Alla villorna kringgärdades av blommande buskar av olika slag och man planerade att plantera klättrade vildvin och skogsklematis på deras verandor, men det blev aldrig av. Rosenplanteringar anlades i ovaler framför villornas entréer och större blomstergrupper arrangerades i gränsen mellan villaområdet och brunnsplanen, i siktlinjen mot Schweizeriet.
- Madelung uttryckte sin frustration över att träden var i dåligt skick vid leveransen i maj från Flottbecker Baumschule utanför Hamburg

³⁴⁸ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 91-113.

³⁴⁹ listan över alla anläggningar 1873-1878 och korrespondensen mellan Flindt och Madelung är sammanställd och ur Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 91-113 och Bilaga B: Växtlista 1870-tal.

där Flindt en gång praktiserat. Madelung gjorde sig mycket omak för att hålla träden vid liv och lyckades till slut. Dahliorna och lövkojorna vid brunnsplanen växte bra trots torkan.

- Vägarna i skogen blev klara i maj och stenar, ca 20 centimeter höga, med ditmålade bokstäver lades ut vid alla vägskal. Stenarnas bokstäver motsvarade bokstavsmarkeringar på kartor som delades ut till brunnsгästerna.

Hösten 1874 & våren 1875:

- Anläggning av parken väster om Södra villaområdet (området där Villa Vera idag ligger)
- Anläggning av en plantskola i skogen, med mestadels inhemskt växtmaterial. Den innehöll senare en stor odling av sykomorlönnsom introducerades i stor mängd från Tyskland till Sverige i mitten av 1800-talet och den var utbredd i odling i Danmark under slutet av 1700-talet.
- Totalt planterades under hösten 3945 stycken lövträd, 700 barrträd, 300 buskar, 200 klättrväxter, 200 *Rosa rubiginosa* (äppelrosor) och 4000 hagtornsplanter, vilket sammanlagt blir 9345 planter. Alla planteringar inhägnades och nysatta planter fick enskilda etiketter, fastsatta med segelgarn och järntråd.
- Nu planterades klättrväxter, antingen klättrvildvin, skogsklematis, pipranka, humle eller klättrrosor, vid villornas och Schweizeriets verandor.
- Efterplantering gjordes på våren i södra villapartiet eftersom mycket hade gått ut under vintern.
- Blomsterbäddarna inramades av buxbom och murgröna. Hur detta såg ut är oklart.
- Parkanläggning runt 2:a klassens badhus gjordes på våren (2:a klassens badhus byggdes 1861 och kallades då för nya badhuset). Till detta hade Flindt beställt växter från sin gamla praktikplats Booths plantskola utanför Hamburg.
- Under våren sådde Madelung blomsterfrö i helt nygjorda mullbänkar.
- Badhus No 1 stod färdigt i juni 1875.
- En ny brygga nära badhuset stod färdig till sommaren.
- Lähäcker av hagtorn planterades i nordöstra och östra gränsen.
- Ett läbälte planterades i norr.

Hösten 1875 & våren 1876:

- De gamla byggnaderna tillhörande Carlstorps gård flyttades till brunnens norra del och började uppföras som Trädgårdsmästarbostad hösten 1875.
- Totalt planterades 5401 stycken träd denna höst.
- I januari 1876 skrev Madelung en önskan om pelargonier till Flindt för att många av de dahliaknölar, som var tänkta till blomsterrabatterna vid brunnspanen, hade frusit bort över vintern trots att han omsorgsfullt hade lagt dem i en frostfri källare..
- 200-300 alplantor köptes från en bonde i trakten för 1 kr/100st och planterades längs åkanten på våren 1876.
- Försäljning av blombuketter bestående av rosor och lövkojor sköttes av Madelung och började på sommaren 1876.
- I juni och juli, utfördes slätter av gräsplanerna, både mellan villorna och i parken väster om villorna.
- Gräsplaner såddes väster om dåvarande brunnssalongen och nordväst om den, för att förbereda en senare parkanläggning.
- Brunnspanens grus sprutades med vatten under sommaren för att inte damma.

Hösten 1876 & våren 1877:

- Fruk- och köksträdgård påbörjades under hösten i närheten av trädgårdsmästarbostaden och drivbänkar uppfördes senare under våren.
- 75 ligusterplantor planterades längs åkanten under hösten.
- Stänger till bönor i köksträdgården togs av fällida träd i skogen under våren.
- Under maj och juni planterades och såddes köksväxter.
- Mark uppläts till privata villor för att få in pengar och en privat villa (troligen Villa Castagna) uppfördes detta år.
- Bärbuskar planterades i köksträdgården.

Hösten 1877 & våren 1878:

- Anläggning av trädgrupper gjordes under hösten väster om brunnssalongen, det område som idag ligger väster om Brunnshallen. Närmare byggnaden planterades täta träd- och buskgrupper. Längre ifrån byggnaden, ute i parken var trädgrupperna mer genomskiktiga. Detta ökade upplevelsen av att vandra i ett landskap bestående endast av gröna dungar och öppna ytor, utan byggnader. Byggnadernas närvaro blev tydlig först när man stod ganska nära.

- Parkanläggningar nordväst om brunnspanen påbörjades på hösten, runt ett tänkt hotell som aldrig byggdes.
- En allé av poppel och sykomorlönner planterades längs vägen upp mot trädgårdsmästarbostaden.
- Buskgrupper planterades vid trädgårdsmästarbostaden.
- Frukt- och köksträdgården färdigställdes under hösten. Den 13 november 1877 började Madelung att plantera fruktträden, efter att ha förbättrat jorden med torv och dy. Dräneringsdikena lade han ut själv, med hjälp av andra trädgårdsarbetare. Antalet grävda planthål i fruktträdgården blev under en vecka i slutet av november 400 stycken och ersättningen per hål var 1 krona och 25 öre.
- Två privata villor uppfördes, Lindahls villa och Gullstrands villa (Villa G).

De anställda trädgårdsmästarna V. V. Rygaard och Henrik Wilhelm Madelung

Till hjälp med anläggandet av parken anställdes alltså först en dansk trädgårdsmästare, V. V. Rygaard, som enligt kassaböckerna arbetade med tillsyn över arbetet med väganläggningar och planteringar. I ett brev till Flindt skrev Rygaard att han anlagt i medeltal 15 900 löpmeter av 3 meter breda gångstigar³⁵⁰. I skogen genomfördes många sprängningar med dynamit, för att lägga vägarna där Flindt hade bestämt. Det var inte helt ofarligt och arbetaren Johan Warm skadades så allvarligt att han fick tas till sjukhus. All behandling och medicin bekostades av brunnssbolaget³⁵¹.

Rygaard efterträddes i slutet av januari 1874 av sin landsman Henrik Wilhelm Madelung och båda höll Flindt underrättad om hur arbetet framskred med väganläggningar, planteringar och växtbeställningar för Ronneby Brunnsparkens del³⁵². Flindt besökte också brunnen ett antal gånger under dessa år, bland annat två gånger under arbetets början i mars-september 1873³⁵³.

Henrik Wilhelm Madelung föddes på prästgården i Sjørring, Thisted Amt på Jylland den 25 juni 1852³⁵⁴. I en anteckningsbok Henrik Madelung fick julen 1868 har han antecknat en mängd namn på sommarblommor, rosor och

³⁵⁰ Konstakademiets bibliotek, samlingen af arkitekturtegninger i Köpenhamn (KunstK), Flindts arkiv, Ronneby H.165, brev från Rygaard till Flindt i september 1873.

³⁵¹ Jakobsson, A, 2000, sid. 93.

³⁵² KunstK, Flindts arkiv, Ronneby H. 165, brev från Madelung till Flindt 1874–1878.

³⁵³ CRK, Ronneby Hälsobrunns arkiv, Kassaböcker 1873.

³⁵⁴ Privat samling (Priv), Anita Palm i Ronneby, Kopia på personbevis för Henrik Madelung, underskrivet av pastoratet i Sjørring, Jylland.

äppleträd jämte ett antal skolbetyg³⁵⁵. Troligtvis gick han i någon sorts trädgårdsskola eller hade ett speciellt intresse för trädgård och växter. Han praktiserade därför troligen som trädgårdsmästarlärning på något av Jyllands gods när han fick kontakt med Flindt. Flindt arbetade med Clausholm på Jylland, under 1870-talet³⁵⁶ och den anläggningen kan ha varit deras mötesplats. Madelung hade även en anställning i Köpenhamn enligt en lokal tidningsartikel i slutet av februari 1934³⁵⁷. I så fall kan han ha träffat Flindt vid anläggningen av till exempel Botaniska trädgården i Köpenhamn 1871-74.

Madelung blev sedermera även arrendator av brunnsbolagets mark, jordbruket vid Carlstorp. Han bosatte sig med sin familj i anläggningens norra del där han i en frukt- och köksträdgård även odlade frukt och grönt till hotellets gäster. Han blev också känd för rosenodlingen som låg intill ån söder om Blekan, ifrån vilken han sålde både plantor och buketter. Madelung kom att stanna vid brunnen som dess trädgårdsmästare i hela 49 år.³⁵⁸ Efter pensionen 1923 lämnade han trädgårdsmästarbostaden och flyttade med Anna till ett hus i Lugnet i Ronneby där han bodde till sin död 25 februari 1934. Hans gravsten står på Bredåkra kyrkogård.³⁵⁹

Anledningen till att Rygaard lämnade sin post är oklar. Det framgår inte i de brev han skickade till Flindt, men anledningen till att Madelung stannade var nog flera. Han träffade Anna Mathilda från Allatorp, gifte sig med henne och fick sju barn³⁶⁰. (se bild 12) Efter en tid i Ronneby fick han mycket eget ansvar både i Ronneby Brunnspark och inne i staden där han ritade och anlade ett flertal parkanläggningar³⁶¹. Han hade många vänner och han hade respekt i trakten som yrkesman och människa³⁶². Ungefär en gång i veckan i fyra år, fram tills han blev arrendator av brunnens jordbruk 1878, skrev Henrik Madelung brev till Henry August Flindt om brunnens parkanläggningar. Han rapporterade om dynamitsprängningarna i skogen, undrade vad han skulle göra med dahliaknölarna som alltid frös bort, delade med sig av glädjen över att gräset tog sig bra efter sådd och skrev av sig sin frustration över att många

³⁵⁵ Priv, Anita Palm i Ronneby, anteckningsbok som tillhört Henrik Madelung.

³⁵⁶ Lund, A., 2000, karta över slottsanläggningar samt uppslagsord Clausholm.

³⁵⁷ Priv, Anita Palm i Ronneby, Tidningsartiklar om Henrik Madelung i samband med dödsfall och jordfästning 1934.

³⁵⁸ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 113, sid. 116, sid. 144 och sid. 148.

³⁵⁹ Priv, Anita Palm i Ronneby, Henrik Madelungs dödsannons 25 februari 1934 samt Anita Palm muntligen i mars 2004.

³⁶⁰ Anita Palm muntligen i mars 2004.

³⁶¹ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 147 samt Anita Palm muntligen i mars 2004.

³⁶² Priv, Anita Palm i Ronneby, Henrik Madelungs dödsannons 25 februari 1934

växter var döda vid ankomsten till brunnen efter att ha transporterats dit från Tyskland och Danmark.³⁶³

Växtbeställningar som gjordes av Flindt 1873-1878 och Madelung 1875-1877

I en jämförelse med parkens vegetation idag och det sena 1800-talets växtlistor och planer så stämmer endast ett fåtal arter och placeringar helt överens. Den gulblommiga hästkastanjen (*Aesculus octandra*), den brokbladiga almen (*Ulmus procera* f. *variegata*) och den flikbladiga boken (*Fagus sylvatica* 'Asplenifolia') i Södra Villaområdet är antagligen ursprungliga från Flindts förslag och den gulblommiga hästkastanjen kan särskilt ses i listorna. Rhododendron beställdes redan 1873, men de buskar som finns i parken idag är troligtvis inte fullt så gamla. Lägg särskilt märke till antalet arter och sorter av ask, lönn, ek, alm och lind. Dessa träd var också många till antalet i beställningslistorna, men är inte lika många till antalet idag. Antalet utplanteringsväxter var som flest under första året då Flindt avsåg att pryda den gamla brunnsplanen medan resten av parken anlades. Antagligen odlade trädgårdsmästaren Henrik Madelung de flesta utplanteringsväxterna själv, (se bild 24) för de förekom inte ofta i beställningarna efter 1873. Få perenner, beställdes vilket kanske kan tyckas märkligt idag, men var helt i det sena 1800-talets anda.

De beställningar Madelung gjorde själv var få, men allteftersom tiden gick och frukt- och köksträdgården blev färdig så beställde han mer på egen hand. Den första beställningen han gjorde var humleplantor 1875, därefter 200 äppelrosor sommaren 1876, i juni 1877 beställde han ärtor, rädisfrön, röllekafrön och reseda och i oktober och december samma år beställde han 1800 gråalsplantor respektive 2000 hagtornsplantor. Alla andra beställningar ansvarade Flindt för.³⁶⁴

Nedan följer en sammanfattning av de växtbeställningar★ som gjordes 1873-1878. Växtbeställningarna, oftast i form av listor i originalfakturor, är hämtade ur Ronneby Hälsobrunns arkivs kassaböcker och verifikationer. Beställningarnas danska, svenska och vetenskapliga namn under dessa år är i möjligaste mån omtolkade till dagsaktuella svenska och vetenskapliga namn.³⁶⁵ På

³⁶³ KunstK, Flindts arkiv, Ronneby H. 165, brev från Madelung till Flindt 1874-1878.

³⁶⁴ Jakobsson, A., 2000, Bilaga B.

³⁶⁵ Litteratur i tolkningen och översättningen av växtnamnen från danska och dåtida vetenskapliga namn till dagsaktuella svenska och vetenskapliga namn har varit: *Havens Planteleksikon* I-II (1997), *Kulturplanternes införselshistorie i Danmark* (Lange, J., 1999), *Våra trädgårdsväxter. Aktuella svenska och vetenskapliga namn* (Lorentzon, K., 1996), *Nordisk Illusteret Havebrugsleksikon* (1945-48), *Kulturväxtlexikon* (1998), och del 1 i Daniel Müllers 2:a upplaga av *Trädgårds-*

de ställen där beställningarna varit generella, dvs om de angivit ”Sorbus diverse” till exempel och inget vetenskapligt namn som förtydligar, så har detta översatts bredast möjligt till ”rönn eller oxel” i den svenska, dagsaktuella versionen. Har inget vetenskapligt namn angivits i originalbeställningen har detta efterkonstruerats, även det på bredast möjliga sätt. På de ställen svenskt dagsaktuellt namn saknas har inget svenskt namn kunnat återfinnas.

Sammanfattningen är även publicerad i Jakobsson (2000) men är sedan dess kompletterad och korrigerad. (För fullständiga referenser och listor över danska beställningsnamn och dåtida latin, samt antal plantor av varje beställning, se Bilaga B: Växtlista 1870-tal i Jakobsson, A., 2000).

*växtlistorna är borttagna 2009-09-02

konst (1858). Tolkningen/översättningen har i stora delar genomförts i samarbete med Kenneth Lorentzon, våren 1999.

Med lie & lukjärn, penna & pensel – Ronneby Brunnspark under Madelungs arrendetid 1878-1923

Madelungs arbetsområden som arrendator

I Brunnsstyrelsens protokoll den 14 maj 1878 deklarerades att Henrik Madelung från och med då arrenderade jordbruket som tillhörde hälsobrunnen (se bild 18). I kontraktet står att Madelung hade rätt till skörden från åkrarna och att bolaget skulle tillhandahålla redskap. Ägorna skulle stängslas in och gärdselämnena (slanor) fick Madelung ta i skogen (se bild 19). Som dittills skulle Madelung sköta och underhålla alla planteringar, häckar, gräsplaner, öppna körvägar och stigar, men från och med 14 maj 1878 på egen bekostnad.³⁶⁶

Det står i kontraktet att Madelung skulle pryda byggnader med grönt och blommor vid festligheter och utan ersättning bidra med blommor från sin egen odling till detta. Till en rimlig avgift skulle han även tillhandahålla hästar och låna ut sin droska till brunnsgästerna. (se bild 23) Vid brunnsbalerna skulle han hjälpa till att städa lokalerna, rengöra klosetterna och borttransportera latrinerna, som han för övrigt fick lov att gödsla jordbruket med. Någon gödsel fick inte bortföras. Som bränsle fick han använda nedfallna grenar i skogen men för att fälla träd var han tvungen att få tillstånd. Bolaget ville ha rätt att ta upp torv ur mossen för eget bruk utan ersättning till arrendatorn. Madelung fick också nyttja torven, men hade inte rätt att sälja den.³⁶⁷

Det var inte mycket som blev över när Henrik Madelung hade fått bekosta anläggningar och underhåll i parken, så för att försörja sig och familjen sålde han grönsaker och blombuketter, körde vatten från brunnen in till staden och gjorde diverse andra uppdrag som trädgårdsmästare i form av planering, uppmätningar och ritarbeten.³⁶⁸

³⁶⁶ CRK, Ronneby Hälsobrunns arkiv, AI:2 Protokoll 1873-1879, Bilaga till sammanträdesprotokoll den 14 maj 1878, Madelungs arrendekontrakt samt FI:3 Handlingar 1867-1881, Arrendatorns (H. Madelungs) skyldigheter.

³⁶⁷ CRK, Ronneby Hälsobrunns arkiv, FI:3 Handlingar 1867-1881, Arrendatorns (H. Madelungs) skyldigheter.

³⁶⁸ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 115f, sid. 136, sid.139. och sid.147.

Henrik Madelungs relation till brunnsanläggningen torde ha blivit ganska kär och hemtam, som om den var hans egen trädgård, med tanke på hur många timmar han lade ned på skötsel och annan omsorg. (se bild 24) Hans engagemang för parken är inte att ta miste på i de brev han skickade till Flindt i Köpenhamn. Så småningom måste han ha känt till varenda buske och träd, varenda sten, varje stigkrökning, vartenda smultronställe och varje grop i vägen.

Med trädgårdsmästarbostadens placering, på en höjd i anläggningens utkant (se bild 20, nr 30 och bild 21), hade han full kontroll över de arbeten som pågick och från trädgården kunde han se bort till hotellets tinnar och torn. Madelungs hustru Anna Mathilda var hemmafru³⁶⁹ och tog troligtvis hand om den frukt och alla bär som inte såldes, till syltning, saftning och mostillverkning. Deras barn hjälpte till med blomsterförsäljning av rosenbuketter till brunnsгästerna och de undervisades i hemmet av en guvernant³⁷⁰. Madelung och hans familj levde i, med, för och på Ronneby Brunnspark. En av Madelungs favoritplatser var troligen Trollsjön. Det finns en bevarad liten blyertsskiss av Henrik Madelung just från en utsiktspunkt vid sjön³⁷¹ och någon annan sådan skiss av anläggningen, bevisligen gjord på fritiden, har inte hittats.

Madelung umgicks inte med brunnsгästerna och deltog inte i brunnsdrickningen men tog hand om deras hästar om de hade några med sig samt hyrde ut rum och droska³⁷². Bostaden för musikerna som spelade i musikpaviljongen vid hotellet om somrarna låg väldigt nära trädgårdsmästarbostaden (se bild 20, nr 44). Hur mycket familjen umgicks med musikerna är oklart, men de hade nära till varandra.

Rosenodlingen var stor och äppleträden var många till antalet. Även nära bostaden hade familjen rosenbuskar, framför allt vita och röda³⁷³. När det gäller rossorter i trädgården och i odlingen så vet vi inte säkert vad som odlades, men i en anteckningsbok som tillhört Madelung har han någon gång mellan 1868 och 1871 antecknat om ett antal rossorter, som till exempel sorterna 'Rose de la Reine' med "smuk röd blomst", 'Souvenir de la Reine

³⁶⁹ Anita Palm, muntligen i mars 2004.

³⁷⁰ Anita Palm, muntligen i mars 2004.

³⁷¹ Priv, Anita Palm i Ronneby, blyertsskiss av Henrik Madelung.

³⁷² Anita Palm, muntligen i mars 2004.

³⁷³ Priv, Anita Palm i Ronneby, kolorerat fotografi från Trädgårdsmästarbostadens framsida. Enligt Anita stämmer nog färgerna överens med de faktiska färgerna på rosorna i trädgården.

d'Angleterre' rikblommande med ljusröda blommor, 'Madame Sylvestre' med vita blommor, 'Marie Stuart' också vit, 'Duchesse of Sutherland' med rosa blommor och 'Madame Sartado' med "stor smuk röd blomst och store runde blade".³⁷⁴ Vilka av dem som odlades just i Ronneby Brunnsparkens rosenodling (se bild 20 och 22) låter vi vara osagt, men dessa sorter kände han åtminstone till. Gravensteiner-äpple och Reine Claude-plommon är de fruktträdssorter som omnämns specifikt i beställningslistorna, i övrigt anges inga sortnamn. Körsbärsträd och päronträd fanns också³⁷⁵, men det var i första hand äpplen som odlades mer kommersiellt³⁷⁶. Det ligger nära till hands att tro att äpplen och rosor var träd och buskar som låg Madelung varmt om hjärtat.

Flindt kom tillbaka och Madelung tecknade, planerade, anlade och underhöll parken

Brunnens yta utvidgades söderut 1886 inför byggandet av brunnshotellet. Brunnshotellet och Brunnshallen som byggdes åren 1895-97 efter ritningar av Alfred Arwidius från Malmö, krävde nya parkanläggningar. Flindt engagerades än en gång och även Madelung ritade förslag på förändringar av parken i samband med brunnshotellbygget.³⁷⁷ Madelung kände nog till anläggningen bäst, men det var Flindts formspråk och förslag som genomfördes. Hotellet fick en stor terrass inbäddad i grönska och en trappa ledde ned i parken. (se bild 13 och 14)

Café Skogshyddan och en musikpaviljong byggdes uppe på berget 1893³⁷⁸. Troligtvis var Madelung engagerad i detta, med trädröjningar och utplacering av bänkar och bord under tallarna uppe i brunnskogen. Båda byggnaderna är idag ruiner, inbäddade i mossa, gräs och sly.

När hotellet var byggt planerades en vattenledning ledas dit från Trollsjön. Madelung mätte, ritade och planerade det arbetet. Sprängningar påbörjades och kan nu ses som en smal passage i skogen. Passagen kallas idag för Rävahiet.³⁷⁹

Madelung fortsatte sina ritprojekt för parken och innan 200-årsjubileet 1905 presenterade han ett antal nyanläggningar framför Brunnshallen (se bild 15)

³⁷⁴ Priv, Anita Palm i Ronneby, anteckningsbok som tillhört Henrik Madelung.

³⁷⁵ Jakobsson, A., 2000, Bilaga B: Västlista 1870-tal.

³⁷⁶ Anita Palm, muntligen i mars 2004.

³⁷⁷ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 136f.

³⁷⁸ Jakobsson, A., sid. 133.

³⁷⁹ Opublicerad uppsats, Jakobsson, A., 2000, Historisk inventering av Brunnskogen.

som även i ett tidigt stadium 1896 (se bild 16), skickades till Flindt för översyn. De nya planteringarna av lindar framför Brunnshallen enligt förslaget ca 1905 står kvar i stora delar idag. Under och bredvid träden sådde Madelung gräs i rundlar och i dem placerade han blomstergrupper och prydnadsbuskar.

I och med detta förslag kan man säga att Madelung drev en helentreprenad från skiss och plan till anläggning och underhåll. Andra förslag till parkanläggningar som Madelung gjorde för Ronneby stad var till Snäckebacken och Rådhusparken. Något av det sista Madelung genomförde för brunnsparken var plantering av rhododendron någon gång mellan 1912 och 1922. De sista åren under Madelungs anställning gjordes också en stor avverkning av ek i backen vid sjön och vid Röda mossen som nu är Japansk trädgård. Ek-virket såldes och detta räddade troligen bolagets ekonomi, men bara tillfälligt.³⁸⁰

³⁸⁰ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 147.

Med spade och lukjärn – en tid av få nyanläggningar 1923–1983

Trädgårdsmästare från Alnarp och parktankar under 1960-talet

När Madelung drog sig tillbaka 1923 anställdes Paavo Johannes Lindquist, en trädgårdsmästare från Alnarps trädgårdsskola. Under hans anställning anlades en damm med fontän framför brunnshallen 1925–29. Denna damm har sett ganska olika ut genom åren och har nyligen (1998) renoverats. Det var knappa tider och konkursen för Ronneby Hälsobrunns AB var ett faktum 1929.³⁸¹ Trots detta fortsatte kurverksamheten i några år fram till 1939, först med hjälp av banken som var fordringsägare och sedan i ett nytt bolag 1934–39.³⁸² Vem som då skötte parkanläggningen är oklart men inga nyanläggningar gjordes. Ronneby stad tog över hälsobrunnen 1940 och arrenderade ut den till olika semesterarrangörer.³⁸³

Trädgårdsmästarbostaden hyrdes ut även fortsättningsvis som trädgårdsmästari.³⁸⁴ Huset stod kvar så sent som på 1960-talet. Åren efter hotellbranden 1959, i början av 1960-talet, gjordes en del nyplanteringar av stadsträdgårdsmästare Gunnar Odenberg, som kallades ”örtagårdsmästare” i en tidningsartikel 1966. Han eftersträvade en stor botanisk samling, ett sorts ”den drologernas paradiset”, och ville bygga på traditionen med det ovanliga växtmaterialet.³⁸⁵

Hotellet expanderade med en tillbyggnad 1971, men de övriga byggnaderna i parken förföll. Några byggnader revs och flera vägar, bland annat Övre Brunnsvägen och Reddvägen, breddades. Räddningen för parken och byggnaderna var byggnadsminnesförklaringen, som diskuterades länge och blev verklighet 1996.

Lista över parkchefer/stadsträdgårdsmästare i Ronneby under senare år

Gunnar Odenberg 1948/49–1980
Sture Wandås oktober 1980–november 1984
Sven-Olov Orback april 1986–november 1990
Peter Lindahl juni 1991–
Pennan och penseln används igen – Ronneby Brunnspark 1983–2004

³⁸¹ Jakobsson, A., 2000, sid. 148 och sid. 150–153.

³⁸² Svensson, B., brevkorrespondens september 2004.

³⁸³ Jakobsson, A. 2000, sid. 154.

³⁸⁴ Anita Palm i Ronneby, muntligen i mars 2004.

³⁸⁵ CRK, Artikel i dagstidning 31 oktober 1966 (okänd dagstidning) om Gunnar Odenberg.

En av de senare i raden av personer som har satt präge på Ronneby Brunns- park är landskapsarkitekten och professorn vid Konstakademien i Köpen- hamn, Sven-Ingvar Andersson (*1927). År 1983 fick han i uppdrag att ut- forma ett förslag till förnyelse av parken och 1987, inför stadens 600- årsjubileum, anlades bland annat Tusen rosors trädgård, dammar nedanför berget, Doftträdgården och en Japansk trädgård. Hans tankar kring detta står att finna i ett annat av denna boks kapitel.

Under de senaste åtta åren har många satsningar gjorts för att bevara Ronne- by Brunns- park för framtiden och för att befästa och sprida dess många vär- den. Raden av arbeten, med Ronneby kommun och Länsstyrelsen i Ble- kinge Län som initiativtagare och med ett flertal personer vid pennorna har hunnit bli ganska lång. Dessa arbeten är:

- Byggnadsminnesförklaring av Ronneby Brunns- park nedanför berget i oktober 1996
- Historisk beskrivning av Ronneby Brunns- park i januari 2000
- Vårdplan för den byggnadsminnesförklarade delen av parken som an- togs i december 2000³⁸⁶
- Vårdplan för byggnaderna som antogs i december 2000
- Historisk inventering av brunnskogen under sommaren 2000
- Inventeringar av skalbaggar, fjärilar, lavar, mossor och kärlväxter samt fåglar och däggdjur under sommaren 2000
- Kulturrese- rvatsbildning för hela Ronneby Brunns- park med invigning i juni 2003
- Skötselplan för kulturrese- rvatet som antogs 2003

Inför framtiden förutspås ett möjligt naturrese- rvat söder om Ronneby Brunns- park och det nybildade kulturrese- rvatet.

Varje år läggs ett stort arbete ned på den kontinuerliga skötseln av Ronneby Brunns- park av de som arbetar med parken idag under ledning av parkchef Peter Lindahl, Ronneby kommun. Detta arbete är viktigt både för vår hel- hetsupplevelse av parken som besökare och för bevarandet av den som en unik sekelskiftes- anläggning. Numera är det inte lien och dynamiten, men väl spadarna, lukjärnen, fröpåsarna och dahliorna som kännetecknar arbetet i parken. Länge än kommer Ronneby Brunns- park vara en samlingsplats, en

³⁸⁶ Setterby, Å., m fl., 2000.

plats för drömmar, fest och friluftsliv, en plats för vila, eftertanke och stillhet, en plats att upptäcka, minnas och återvända till.

Källor och litteratur

Otryckta källor

Muntliga källor

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Vykortsamlingen

”Ronneby Brunn. Parkparti”

Fotografisamlingen

Ronneby Brunn, Madelungs Rosenodling

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AI:2 Protokoll 1873-1879	Protokoll 14 juli 1873, angående Flindts förslag Bilaga till sammanträdesprotokoll den 14 maj 1878, Madelungs arrendekontrakt
AI:5 Protokoll 1892-1900	Styrelsemöte 15 dec 1895, bland annat angående Madelungs arrendekontrakt
FI:1 Handlingar 1731-1839	Beskrivning till brandförsäkringskarta (värdering av byggnaderna) av C. Ahlberg år 1838
FI:2 Handlingar 1830-1906	Contrakt med Aug. Pettersson 1862-1866
FI:3 Handlingar 1867-1881	<i>Beskrifning öfver Ronneby Brunn och Bad-anstalt och Beskrivelse over Arbeidets gang med Ronneby Brönd og Badeanstalt</i> , 3 maj 1873. Arrendatorns (Madelungs) skyldigheter 1878
FI:4 Handlingar 1875-1929	"För växthus och drifbänkar behövas...", Madelung 1917 "Förslag till ekafverkning 1919", Madelung Kontrakt med Paavo Johannes Lindquist, 27 augusti 1923 Avgångsbetyg från Alnarps trädgårdsskola 1918, för Paavo J. Lindquist Paavo Lindquists referenser
GII:1 Kassaböcker 1873-1874	Noteringar om Flindts besök

Artikel i dagstidning 31 oktober 1966 om stadsträdgårdsmästare Gunnar Odenberg

Fotografisamlingen Ronneby Brunn

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Fotografi av brunnsгäster i droska vid Trollsjön

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Privat samling (Priv)

Anita Palm, Ronneby

Fotografi av Trädgårdsmästarbostaden med kringliggande odlingar under 1880-talet

Anteckningsbok som tillhört Henrik Madelung 1868-71.

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